

WILSON

The Proportion between
Extant and Lost among the
known Works of Latin Literature
of the Age of Cicero

Classics

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THE PROPORTION BETWEEN EXTANT AND LOST AMONG
THE KNOWN WORKS OF LATIN LITERATURE
OF THE AGE OF CICERO

BY

LOLA ELSIE WILSON
A. B. Hanover College, 1912

THESIS

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPER-
VISION BY Lola Elsie Wilson
ENTITLED The Proportion between Extant and Lost among the Known Works
of Latin Literature of the Age of Cicero

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF Master of Arts

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*Required for doctor's degree but not for master's.

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INTRODUCTION

The literary history of every nation is so closely woven into and dependent upon the political history, that it may be divided into periods to correspond to the epochs which mark the political growth of the country. It is this plan which Martin Schanz follows in his Geschichte der römischen Litteratur.¹ His first period, which deals with the elements of the national literature, extends to the end of the First Punic War in 240 B. C. Like the early literature of all nations it consists of songs in praise of the virtue and deeds of the valiant heroes, songs of triumph, elegies in honor of the dead, witty speeches, and dialogues given at banquets and festivals.

The close of the First Punic War brought westward the Greek influence. The Greek language, literature, art, religion, writers, and teachers all made their way into Italy. The writers of the period either translated Greek dramas into Latin or else wrote in imitation of the Greek. The most important writers, then, were Plautus and Terence, and Cato, who produced literature of high rank in his vain effort to stem the tide of Hellenism. The second epoch marks also the rising of Rome as a world power. It closes in 87 B. C., with the end of the social war, which he considers as paving the way for the Latinization of Italy.

The following period is one of the most important in the history of the Roman world. Rome was at her zenith, a republic powerful on land and sea with numerous rich tributary provinces.

1. Müller's Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft ,
VIII, 1, 2 , 1907

Her citizens passed their lives in luxury and ease, and devoted an increasing amount of time to politics and to philological and scientific interests. It was a time of strife between factions for control of the state, which terminated in 31 in the battle of Actium, by which Augustus became emperor of the occidental world. His reign introduces a new age, the golden age of literature, when writers returned to the Greeks for their inspiration and models.

The literature of these 56 years is characteristic of the times. The drama, perhaps in part because of interest in the present and its happenings, was no longer so closely modeled after the old Greek plays, and consequently declined in quality. In contrast to the comedies of Plautus and Terence of the previous period, and the tragedies of Seneca who lived at a later date, were the Atellanæ and Mimambi of Pomponius, Novius, Laberius and others. This same interest in the present was responsible for the philosophical writings of Cicero, the works of Varro; and Caesar, Nepos, and Sallust have handed down in their histories the accounts of wars and their leaders. Luxury and ease brought forth the love poems of Valerius Catō, Catullus, and Galvus. Lucretius' poem, De Rerum Natura, is the noble representative of the field of didactic poetry.

Oratory, however, occupied the fore ground. It became the mouth-piece of politics; it took the place, in part, of the modern press, and through it enemies of the state or private enemies received their punishment. At the head of the writers stands the one who gives his name to the age, Marcus Tullius Cicero. In behalf of his friends and his state he delivered

his orations; and his letters deal for the most part with the conditions and participators in the events of the republic. Caesar also understood and used oratory to good advantage. There are many other orators whose names are familiar to us from Roman history but whose works have either entirely disappeared or are very fragmentary. Among them are Brutus, Pompey, Marcus Antonius, Hortensius, and Q. Cicero.

The men I have named are only a few of those who wrote at this time. There are historians, dramatists, rhetoricians, and jurists, whose writings are for the most part lost. It is ^{of} interest to know just what proportion of Rome's literature is extant. The first period has so few remains and these are so scattered that we are unable to determine in regard to it. Miss Mary A. Haan, of the Department of Classics in the University of Illinois, in her thesis for the degree of Master of Arts, in 1912-13 made a study of the literature of the second period. It is the aim of this thesis, in a similar manner, to ascertain the relative proportion of the extant and lost parts of the known literature of the third or Ciceronian period.

In making my study of the writers of this period I have taken them up in the following order: the historians, orators, professional writers, philologists, rhetoricians, jurists, religious writers, scientific writers, and poets. I have followed the order in which Schanz treats them with the exception that I have reversed the order of poets and prose writers.

In order to compare the bulk of the writings lost with that of those remaining it is necessary to have some standard of measurement such as the book, oration, letter, carmen,

epigram, and drama. Since the length of these has varied so much at different periods and even during the same period and in the works of a single writer, I have taken whenever possible the average length of works of a representative writer of each class. To do this I have in some cases made use of Birt's Das Antike Buchwesen ¹ and in others the averages which Miss Haan determined for use in her thesis.

As a standard for the length of a book of poetry I have used Lucretius' De Rerum Natura. The length of each of the six books is as follows: I, 1109; II, 1174; III, 1092; IV, 1279, V, 1455; VI, 1284, and the average length is 1234 lines.²

The Carmen varies so much in length from the shortest of Horace's Odes and Epodes to the Culex of 414 lines and the Ciris of 540 lines that no satisfactory standard can be set for it.

As we have no whole plays of this period I have taken Plautus and Terence, whose plays (omitting the Vidularia which is fragmentary) Miss Haan ³ found to average 1050 lines in length.

To determine the average for the Epigram since we have no considerable body of such poems from this period, I have taken the 14 books of Martial's Epigrams, and found the average length of a book is 645 verses and the average length of a single epigram 7 lines.

1. Berlin, 1882. pp. 286-307 (Die Buchgrösse)

2. Compared with the length of books of Virgil this is undoubtedly a large figure, but for this period we have no other good criterion.

3. p. 6.

Birt ¹ gives the length of each of the 34 books of Cicero's letters. From this list I find the average length of the book is 1182 $\frac{2}{5}$ lines, and since there are 869 letters in the collection, the average length of a single letter is 46 lines.

For the length of a book of prose I took 29 representative books of Cicero's Philosophical writings, and found the average length was 1690 lines or 45 pages of a Teubner edition.

To find the average length of an oration I took the 58 entire orations in Müller's edition of Cicero's works, and found that they averaged 968 lines each ³ or 26 Teubner pages.

To determine the number of books written by an author when we have no remains of his work, and in many instances for the fragments themselves, I have had to depend upon statements of later writers and commentators such as Pliny, Quintilian, Tacitus, Suetonius, Plutarch, Cellius, Macrobius, Nonius, Servius, Priscian and others, assuming that if they were acquainted with any particular work of the end of the republic it was by no mere tradition but by having seen it, and therefore

1. pp. 326-7
2. Müller's edition of Cicero's works was used in making the computation.
3. Though the number of lines on a page is different in the Baier-Keyser edition from that in Müller's edition, the length of a line is about the same.

that the work must have been published. In the case of the orators a statement is often made that certain speeches were delivered, but no evidence is given that they were published, as for example, "pro Bithyniae rege dixit Hortensius" Cic. (De Orat. 3, 61, 229). In making my totals I have not counted the orations unless it is definitely stated that they were published. I have quoted in my notes the evidence for the highest numbers of books only, except when there is some doubt as to the numbering, and in such cases from the two or three next highest in number also. I have followed Schanz's assumption that when the phrase primus liber is used (as "Cicero Epistularum ad Calvum primo"), there were at least three books. Often no evidence is to be had in regard to the number of books, and unless the plural form is used, (as "Varro docet in libris quos de familiis Troianis scripsit"), I have assumed the existence of only one. For libri, plurimi libri and aliquot libri I have assumed only two. The laws of probability as well as such words as multi, aliquot and plurimi, would of course indicate that many of these works must have had a larger number of books and that my totals are consequently too low, but I have been unwilling to go any further than the actual evidence would lead.

When scanty prose fragments remain I have been forced to judge roughly what part of a page (citing as a basis the Teubner page of about 37 lines) or of a book they form, and have estimated the fragments of poetry roughly by lines, counting parts of lines as lines. No allowance has been made for small lacunae in books preserved essentially complete. A libellus has had to be counted as a whole book, from the

impossibility of determining its exact size. The case of Catullus is an example of how deceptive this diminutive form may be.

Important collections of prose and poetry used are the following:

H. Peter-Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae, Vols. 1 & 2. Teubner, 1870- 1907.

H. Peter-Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta, Teubner, 1883

G. Funaioli-Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta, Teubner, 1907

H. Keil-Grammatici Latini. Vols. 1-7. Teubner, 1857-78

H. Meyer-Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta. Teubner, 1832.

O. Ribbeck-Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta. Vols. 1-2. Teubner, 1898.

E. Baehrens-Poetae Latini Minores. Teubner, 1882.

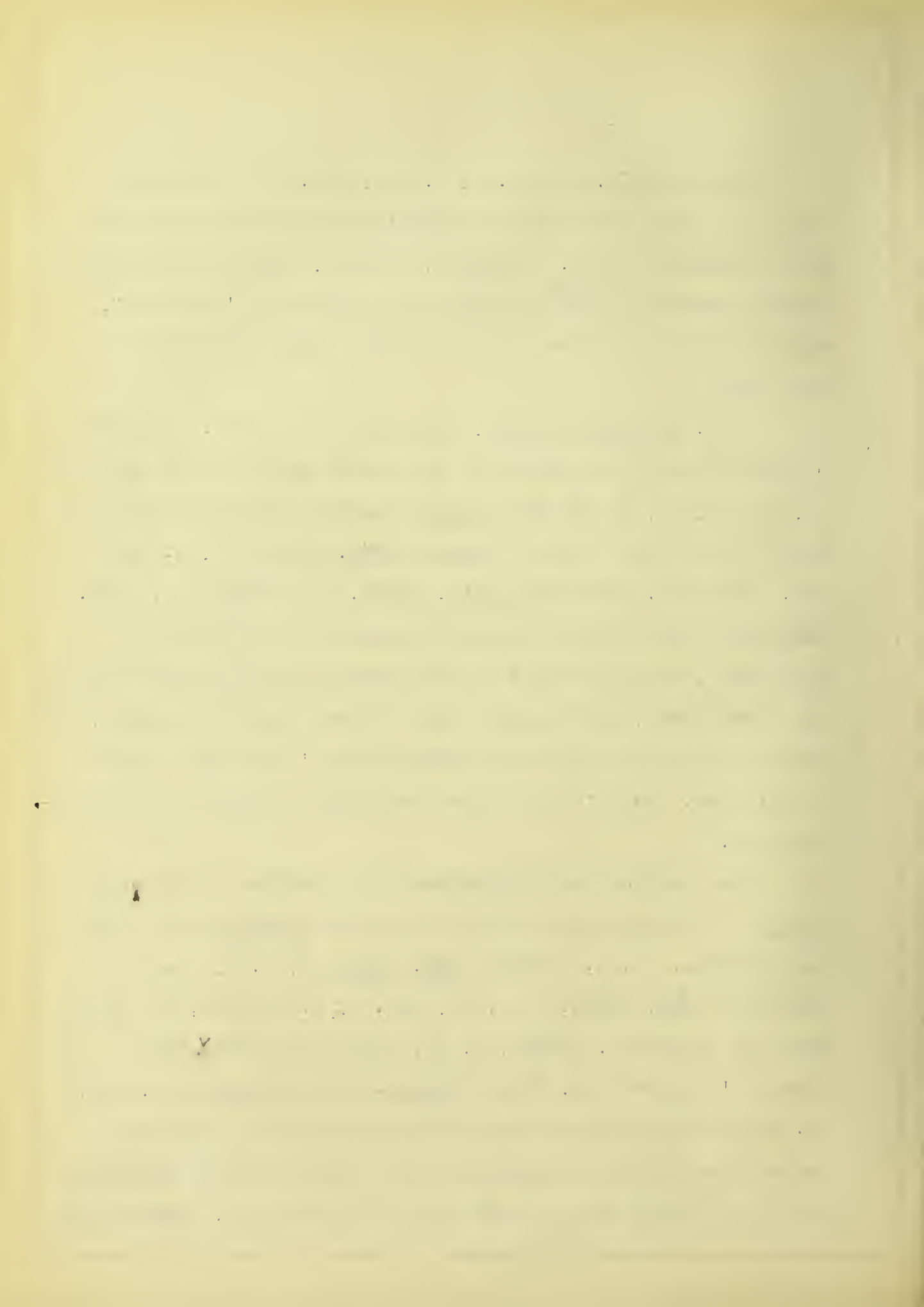
E. Baehrens-Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum. Teubner, 1886

Q. CLAUDIUS QUADRIGARIUS

Mommsen (Röm. Forsch. 2, p. 426, Anm. 27) thinks the Claudius of Livy and Claudius Quadrigarius the historian are two different writers. The fact, however, that Livy and other writers mention ^{the latter} so many times and always as 'Claudius', would lead us to believe that there was only one writer of that name.

G. F. Unger (Philologus, Supplement , 3, Abt. 2, (1878), p. 3) believes the translation of Acilius mentioned by Livy (25, 39, 12; 35, 14, 5) and the Annales are two different works, in opposition to the views of Mommsen (Röm. Forsch. 2, p. 426, Anm. 27) and H. Peter (Fleckeis. Jahrb. 125, (1882), p. 103). Unger says that Claudius does not speak in the style of a translator, that there are in Livy such expressions as "Claudius qui auctor est", and "Acilius cuius libros Claudius vertit", which would lead us to think he had used Acilius' work as a source for his own. Unger's view seems reasonable enough to be accepted by us.

The question has been raised as to whether the ~~Ἑλεγχος~~ ~~Χρύσι~~ of Clodius is identical with the Annales of Claudius Quadrigarius. B. G. Niebuhr (Röm. Gesch. 2, p. 3,) and A. Schwegler (Röm. Gesch. 1, p. 39, Anm. 2, p. 11, Anm. 5) think they are identical. Unger, p. 11, thinks the ~~Ἑλεγχος~~ is Claudius' own writing. Niese (Pauly-Wissowa Realencycl., Bd. 3 Sp. 2860) thinks Clodius is to be considered as a different person from Claudius Quadrigarius and Clodius wrote the ~~Ἑλεγχος~~. If it is a Greek work it does not here concern us. Taking into



consideration the freeness of translations, we are justified, in spite of the view of Schanz (Röm. Lit. I, 2, 3rd Ed. p. 105), in considering its title as the translation of that of a Latin work, and since Livy speaks in all cases of the work of Claudius, (another form of which is Clodius), as though there were only one, we are probably safe in identifying it with the Annales.

VALERIAS ANTIAS

F. Münzer (Hermes, 32, p. 469) does not believe that Antias wrote 75 books as Gellius (VI, 9, 17) indicates, but that there were only 30 at the most, and that the numbering of all books above 30, is erroneous. If Gellius were the only writer who referred to these books Münzer's theory might seem plausible, but Priscian, who was entirely independent of Gellius, quotes (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 4896) from Book LXXIV and Gellius himself (6, 9, 9) from Book XLV; '1, 7, 10) from Book XXIV; and (6, 9, 12) from Book XXII, while both writers quote in many places from Books I--XXII. Quotation of high numbers, however, by two independent writers gives us reason for believing numbers 45, 74, and 75 are correct.

Gutschmid reasons (Kl. Schr. 5 (Leipz. 1894) p. 526) that the average number of books per year from the 22nd (dealing with events of the year 137 B. C.) to the 45th (dealing with those of 110 B. C.) is 1, according to which the date of the 75th book would be 80 B. C. and as Antias' writings would very likely have closed with the death of Sulla in 78 B. C. there is a possibility of at least 77 books, but this argument is damaged by

Münzer's different dating of the fragments of Book 45. He thinks it belongs to the year 205.

Q. LICINIUS MACER

In only one place does Nonius, (p. 221 M., s. v. patibulum) where he is mentioning the 21st book, use the term Licinius rerum Romanarum libro XXI. In all other places he notes his writings as Annales. It is probable that in this place he is confusing Licinius Macer with Clodius Licinus, who wrote in the Augustan period (Schanz, § 331). The next highest book of which we have any fragments is 16; Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 523,3) "Aemilius Macer in XVI annalium".

Q. AELIUS TUBERO

F. Ritschl (Opusc. 3, p. 404; p. 414) and C. Nipperdey (Opusc. p. 408) think there were two writers by the name of Tubero. Cicero and Livy mention the writer simply as 'Tubero' and Gellius speaks of Historiae Tuberonis. Dionysius is the only writer who uses the plural, Bk. I, C. 7 "Ἀἰλίοι τε καὶ Γέλλιοι καὶ Καλποῦρνιοι" and he seems to mention them here as a class rather than as any certain individuals and in Lib. I, C. 80 says "Τουβέρων Ἀἴλιος, δεινὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιμελής" ^{γράφει} so that we are safe in thinking there is only one writer of that name.

SCRIBONIUS LIBO

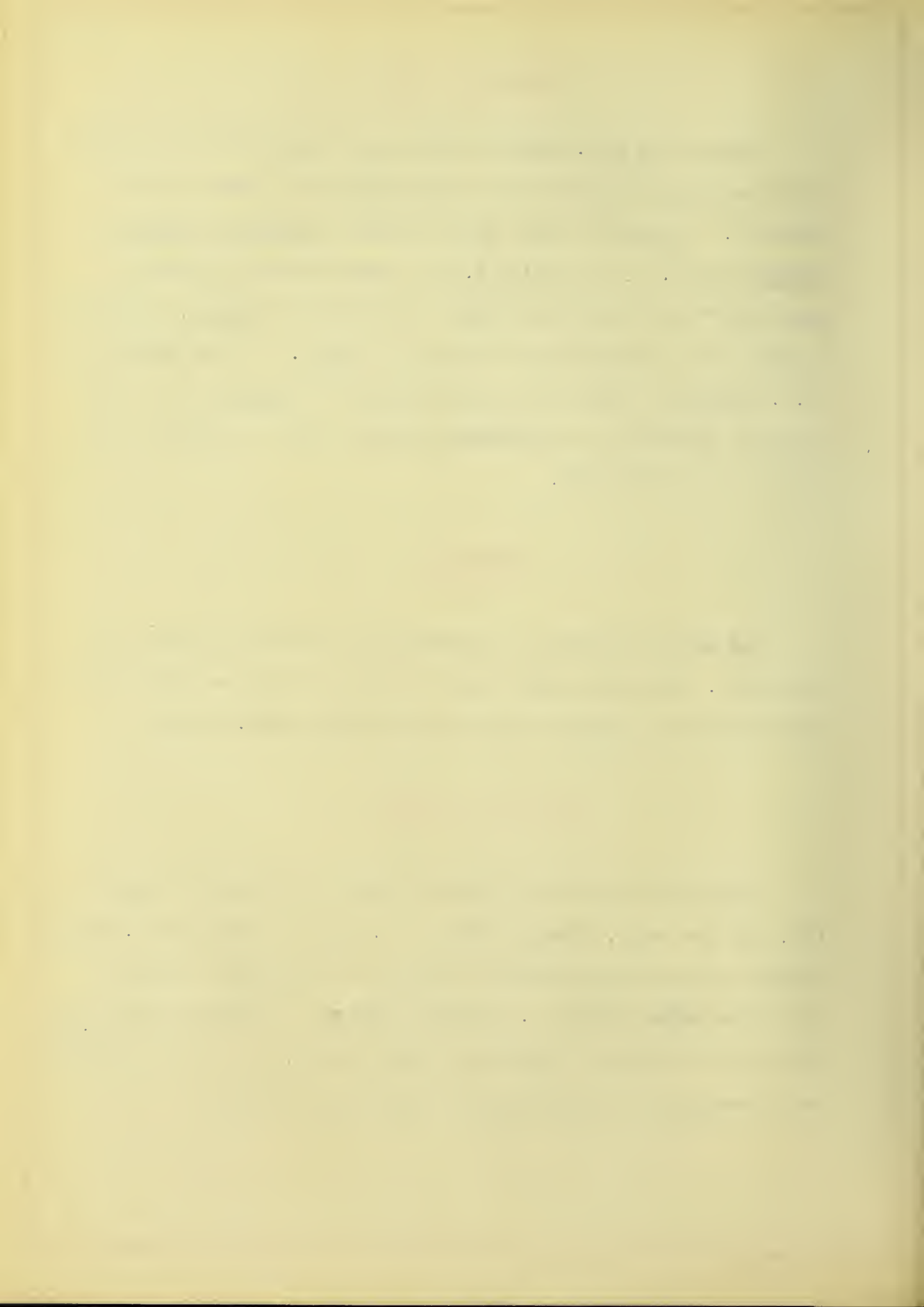
Cicero (ad Att. XIII.30, 3) says; "sed in Libonis annali XIII annis post praetor est factus Tuditanus quam consul Mummius". In spite of the fact that the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Vol. 2, Col. 108, L. 76) quotes "sed in Libonis annali XIV" as though the numeral referred to annali, from the context it is clear that it refers to annis. In the Thesaurus (s.v. annalis) I find no certain example of annalis in the singular without an accompanying ordinal save as applied to works in only one book.

PROCILIUS

We have no evidence concerning the number of books of Procilius. The references made to him by Pliny and Varro are antiquarian in character rather than purely historical.

SULPICIUS BLITHO

Sulpicius Blitho is mentioned only by Cornelius Nepos (23, 13) who says, "namque Atticus M. Claudio Marcello Q. Fabio Labeone consulibus mortuum in annali suo scriptum reliquit. Sulpicius ~~autem~~ Blitho P. Cornelio Cethego M. Baebio Pamphilo;" so, as in the case of Scribonius Libo above, we are not justified in assuming the existence of more than one book.



CORNELIUS SISENNA

Nonius (s. v. suffragantur, p. 468), reads "~~Sisenna~~ histor. lib. XXIII." The next highest mention of the numbering of the books is by Priscian, (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 264); "Sisenna in XII historiarum". Nonius (s.v. stare p. 392) "Sisenna lib. VIIII". Four fragments remain of Book VI, many of Books IV, III, II and I. We have the singular fact that there is only one reference to Book XXIII and none whatever to the books between it and Book XII, although dealing with more modern times, while there are many references to the lower ^{-numbered} books which deal with mythological times. Peter gives the date of Book VI as 88 (Hist. Rom. Reliq. 1, p. 294), and the date of Book XXIII as 82, and, if his numbering is correct, it is suspicious that there should be so many books covering so short a period of time. Bearing these facts in mind we are hardly justified in saying more than that we know Sisenna wrote at least twelve books and possibly twenty-three.

We have many fragments of Book XIII of his Milesiarum Libri given by Charisius (II. 175-197 P; 194-223 K) but fragments from no other book. It may be possible that this was the only one of the set extant in the time of Charisius but we know from this fact that he wrote at least thirteen books.

Whether or not he is the author of commentaries on Plautus sometimes attributed to him is decided by a quotation from Charisius (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 221, 2) "tractim Plautus in Amphitryone; ubi Sisenna 'pro lente' inquit non ut Maro Georgicon IIII tractimque susurrant inquit". It is evident from this quotation of Vergil that it was a later Sisenna

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who wrote the commentaries. That the orations of Sisenna (Cic. Brutus 64, 228) were ever published we have no evidence.

L. LUCCEIUS

Cic. (Epist. ad Fam.), addressed to Lucceius, (5, 12, 2) reads "videbam Italici belli et civilis historiam iam a te paene esse perfectam", and in the same letter § 3, "et in eo lego historiae neglegas gratiamque illam de qua saevissime quoddam in prooemio scripsisti". A letter of Lucceius to Cicero remains (Cic. Ad Fam. 5, 14).

TANUSIUS GEMINUS

Peter (Hist. Rom. Fragm. p. 239) quotes Catull. 36, 1: "Annales Volusi cacata charta"; (36, 19-20)"...et inficetarium annales Volusi cacata charta"; Senec. (Ep. XV, 1(93), 11) "Annales Tanusii scio quam ponderosi sint et quid vocentur hoc est vita quorundam longa et quod Tanusii sequitur annales"; Catull. (95, 7): "At Volusi annales Paduam morientur ad ipsam..." Under the head of Historiae Fragmenta, Peter also quotes from Suet. (Jul. 9): "~~Mem~~inerunt coniurationes Tanusius Geminus in historia, Marcus Bibulus in edictis, C. Curio pater in orationibus." Here, however, he does not seem to designate historia as a title of an individual work, but as a class of writings in contrast with edictis and orationibus, so we may conclude it is identical with the Annales. As to the two names given, Tanusius and Volusius, although we do not know definitely, it is possible



that they refer to the same person, the Volusius, which is metrically equivalent to Tanusius, being used for it as is often done in Latin poetry.

L. CORNELIUS SULLA

Concerning the number of his books we have the statement of Plutarch (Sull. 37) (ὁ δὲ ξύλλα) τὸ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον τῶν ὑπομνημάτων πρὸ δεῖν ἡμερῶν ἢ ἐτελεύτα γράφων ἐπαύσατο."

Priscian (VIII, p. 476 H): "Sulla in vicesimo primo rerum suarum" which is our highest numbered citation. Peter (Hist. Rom. Fragm. pp. 127-134) also gives fragments from Books I-XX.

L. VOLTACILIUS PITHOLAUS

Sueton. (de. Gramm. 27 ; de Rhet. 3) "patrisque eius res gestae nec minus ipsius compluribus libris exposuit; primus omnium libertinorum, ut Cornelius Nepos opinatur, scribere historiam orsus; nonnisi ab honestissimo quoque scribi solitam ad id tempus" Macrob. (Sat. 2, 2, 13) speaks of a M. Voltacilius Pitholaus who, "cum Caninius Reuilus uno tantum die consul fuisset, dixit ante flamines nunc consules diales fiunt." It is possible, however, that he and L. Voltacilius Pitholaus are identical, the praenomen being corrupted, and we have the more reason to believe so because they lived at the same time and belonged to the same political faction.

T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS

To his Liber Annalis we have a reference from Nepos (Attic. 18, 1) ".... ut eam (antiquitatem) totam, in eo volumine exposuerit, quo magistratus ordinavit". Cicero (Brutus 3, 13) speaks of the annalis as a "liber quo me hic adfatus quasi iacentem excitavit."

Concerning his genealogical monographs, Nepos (Att. 18, 3) says, "fecit hoc idem separatim in aliis libris ut M.Bruti rogatu Iuniam familiam a stirpe ad hanc aetatem ordine enumeravit notans, qui a quoque ortus, quos honores quibusque temporibus cepisset; pari modo Marcelli Claudii de Marcellorum, Scipionis Cornelii Corneliorum, et Fabii Maximi Fabiorum et Aemiliorum, quibus libris nihil potest esse dulcius iis, qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiae clarorum virorum". We are led to think there were four of these books at least, one of the Junii, one of the Marcelli, one of the Cornelii, and one of the Fabii and Aemilii.

His records of Cicero's consulship being in Greek do ^{not} here concern us.

Nepos (Att. 18, 5) says "attigit poeticen quoque,..... nam de viris, qui honore rerumque gestarum amplitudine ceteros Romani populi praestiterunt, exposuit ita, ut sub singulorum imaginibus facta magistratus, qui eorum non amplius quaternis quinisque versibus descripserit". Plin. (N. H. 35, 11): "imaginum amorem flagrasse quondam testes sunt Atticus ille Ciceronis edito de iis volumine....."

C. JULIUS CAESAR

Concerning the writings of C. Julius Caesar, which have not been preserved, Sueton. (Jul. 56) says "Feruntur et a puero et ab adolescentulo quaedam scripta, ut Laudes Herculis, tragoedia Oedipus, item Dicta collectanea; quos omnis libellos vetuit Augustus publicari in epistula, quam brevem admodum ac simplicem ad Pompeium Macrum cui ordinandos bibliothecas delegaverit, misit." Sueton. (Jul. 56): "reliquit et de analogia duos libros et Anticatones totidem, ac praeterea poema quod incipitur Iter, quorum librorum primos in transitu Alpium cum ex ceteriore Gallia conventibus peractis ad exercitum rediret, . . . , novissimum, dum ab urbe in Hispaniam ulteriorem quarto et vicesimo die pervenit." Suetonius quotes, in his Biography of Terence, six hexameter lines of Caesar which treat of the style of Terence's poetry. Pliny (Epist. 5, 3, 5) speaks of him as a writer of amorous poems. Tacit. (Dial. 21) "Nisi qui et carmina eorundem (Caesar and M. Brutus) miratur; fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerant." . . . Macrob. (Sat. 1, 16, 39) mentions an astronomical work of Caesar: "Julius Caesar siderum motus, de quibus non indoctos libros reliquit, ab Aegyptiis disciplinis hausit". Schol. in Lucan. (10, 185), "suus (Caesaris) liber, quem composuit de computatione, non inferior libro Eudoxi sit." Comment. Bern. in Lucan. (10, 187) "est autem liber fastorum divi Julii Caesaris. . . ."

Concerning his Analogia, Gellius (19, 8, 3) says, "in libris quos ad M. Ciceronem de Analogia conscripsit". Fronto (p. 221 Naber): "cogites G. Caesarem atrocissimo bello Gallico cum

alia multa militaria tum etiam duos de analogia libros scrupulosissimos scripsisse".

Plut. (Caes. 54) says of his Anticatones "ἔγραψεν οὖν πολλάς τινὰς κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος αἰτίας συναναχών, τὸ δὲ βιβλίον Ἀντικάτων ἐπιγέγραπται." Tacit. (Ann. 4, 34):

"M. Ciceronis libro quo Catonem caelo aequavit, quid aliud dictator Caesar quam rescripta oratione, velut apud iudices, respondit".

There seem to have been at least six orations written by him in behalf of friends and relatives; (1) Gellius (4, 16, 8): "C. Caesar ... in Dolabellam actionis l. Lib. I". Sueton. (Jul. 55): "post accusationem Dolabellae haud dubie principibus patronis annumeratus est". (2) Gellius (13, 3, 5): "repperi in oratione C. Caesaris, qua Plautiam rogationem suasit....." (3) Sueton. (Jul. 6): "quaestor Iuliam amitam uxoremque Corneliam defunctas laudavit". (4) Schol. Bob. pro Sest. (p. 89 Hildebrandt): "Caesaris orationes contra hos extant, (quibus) et sua acta defendit et illos insectatur". In Vatin. (p. 116 H.): "... ibi enim habitae sunt tres ilae orationes contra Domitium et Memmium". (5) Gellius (5, 13, 6): "in oratione quam pro Bithynis dixit, hoc principio usus est." (6) Tacit. (Dial. 21): "nisi forte quisquam aut Caesaris pro Decio." Sueton. (Jul. 55) says "orationes aliquas reliquit, inter quas temere quaedam feruntur. Pro. Q. Metello non immerito Augustus existimat magis ab actuariis exceptam male subsequentibus verba dicentis, quam ab ipso editam, nam in quibusdam exemplaribus invenio ne inscriptam quidem pro Metello, sed quam scripsit Metello, cum ex persona Caesaris sermo sit Metellum seque

adversus communium obtrectatorum criminationes purgantis.

Apud milites quoque in Hispania idem Augustus vix ipsius putat, quae tamen duplex fertur; una quasi priore habita proelio, altera posteriore, quo Asinius Pollio ne tempus quidem contionandi habuisse eum dicit subita hostium incursione".

Sueton. (Jul. 56) says concerning his letters "Epistulae quoque eius ad senatum extant extant et ad Ciceronem, item ad familiares domesticis de rebus". Gellius (17, 9, 1) says "libri sunt epistularum C. Caesaris ad C. Oppium et Balbum Cornelium" Cic. Ad Att.(9, 6A; 9, 7 C; 9, 13 A; 9, 16, 2; 10, 8 B) contains his extant letters.

Concerning his memoirs we have the statement of Suetonius (Jul. 56): "Reliquit et rerum suarum commentarios Gallici civilisque belli Pompeiani. Nam Alexandrini Africique et Hispaniensis incertus auctor est; alii Oppium putant, alii Hirtium, qui etiam Gallici belli novissimum imperfectumque librum supplevit". We may assume then that there were seven books of the Gallic war and there seems to be no question but that he is the author of the three books of the civil war, which are handed down to us.

Concerning the authorship of the Supplement, we have the statement of Suetonius quoted above, also (B. Gall. 8, praef.)
^{who} Hirtius, says "coactus assiduus tuis vocibus, Balbe, cum cotidiana mea recusatio non difficultatis excusationem, sed inertiae videretur deprecationem habere, rem difficillimam suscepi. Caesaris nostri commentarios rerum gestarum Galliae non cohaerentibus superioribus atque insequentibus eius scriptis contexui novissimumque imperfectum ab rebus gestis Alexandriae

confeci usque ad exitum non quidem civilis dissensionis cuius finem nullum vidimus, sed vitae Caesaris. Quos utinam qui legent scire possint quam invitus susceperim scribendos, quos facilius caream stultitiae atque arrogantiae crimine qui me mediis interposuerim Caesaris scriptis mihi ne illud quidem accidit, ut Alexandrino atque Africano bello interesssem; quae bella quamquam ex parte nobis Caesaris sermone sunt nota, tamen aliter audimus ea, quae rerum novitate aut admiratione nos capiunt aliter, quae pro testimonio sumus dicturi.

L. CORNELIUS BALBUS

Letters of Balbus to Cicero are preserved to us (ad. Att. 8, 15A; 9, 7B; 9, 13A; 9, 7A). Suetonius speaks of him as writing about the death of Julius Caesar (Jul. 81): "cuius rei auctor est Cornelius Balbus, familiarissimus Caesaris."

C. OPPIUS

To the writings of C. Oppius we have the following references: Plutarch (Pomp. 10): "Ὅππιος μὲν, ὅταν περὶ Καίσαρος πολέμων ἢ φίλων διαλέγεται, σφόδρα δεῖπνι τεύειν μετὰ εὐλαβείας"; Sueton. (Jul. 53): "circa victum C. Oppius adeo indifferentem docet": Sueton. (Jul. 52): "C. Oppius, quasi plane defensione ac patricinio res egeret, librum edidit, non esse Caesaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat"; Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 147, 3): "Vulgu, ab hoc vulgu, Oppius de vita Cassii, idem de vita prioris Africani 'opinante vulgu'."

C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO

Cic. (Brutus 60, 128) says "nihil turpius quam quod etiam in scriptis obliviscebatur, quid paulo ante posuisset ut in eo libro, ubi se exeuntem e senatu et cum Pansa nostro et cum Curione filio colloquentem facit, etc".

T. AMPIUS BALBUS

Suetonius (Jul. 77) in speaking of the events of Caesar's time uses the expression "ut T. Ampius scribit", giving no clue as to the length of the work.

CORNELIUS NEPOS

Concerning the Chronica of Cornelius Nepos we have the words of Catullus (Car. 1) in writing to Nepos: "ausus es unus Italorum/omne aevum tribus explicare cartis/doctis, Jupiter, et laboriosis". Gellius (17, 21, 3): "Cornelius Nepos in primo Chronico". Ausonius (Epist. 16, p. 174 Schenkl): "Nepotis Chronica". We may conclude, therefore, that the work consisted of three books.

Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 146, 19) reads "Nepos exemplorum II". Gellius (6, 18, 11): "Cornelius Nepos in libro exemplorum quinto", so we are safe in saying there were at least five books of the Exempla.

Pliny, in his geographical works, mentions Nepos as an authority, but we have no proof that the latter produced any

separate geographical writings, and may believe that this reference is to some part of the Exempla or Chronica.

In speaking of his Monographs about Cicero and the elder Cato, Cornel. Nepos (Cato, 3, 5) reads "huius de vita et de moribus plura in eo libro persecuti sumus, quem separatim de eo fecimus rogatu T. Pomponii Attici. ^{delegimus} quare studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen." Gellius (15, 28, 1) says "Cornelius Nepos in librorum primo quos de vita illius (Ciceronis) composuit errasse videtur".

The De Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium attributed by Mss to Aemilius Probus and containing the biographies of 23 famous non-Roman generals has the same style, arrangement, idiomatic peculiarities and defects as the biographies of the elder Cato and Atticus and fragments of a letter of Cornelia all attributed to Nepos. The probability arises then, that these two divisions, the non-Roman generals and the Roman historians, are both only parts of a larger work known as De Illustribus Viris and cited by late authors. Concerning the number of books comprising this work we have the statement of Charisius (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 141, 13): "Cornelius Nepos illustrium virorum libro XVI". In Gramm. Rom. Fragm. (406) Albinus, in the beginning of his history is quoted as saying.... "scriptum hoc est in libro Cornelii Nepotis de illustribus viris XIII".

C. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS

For each of the extant monographs on Catilina and

Jugurtha the Mss give evidence of the existence of but one book and each seems to be complete within that limit.

Ausonius (13, 2, 61 p. 38, Schenkl) in his Liber Epistularum says to Nepos: "ab Lepido et Catulo iam res et tempora Romae orsus bis senos seriem conecto per annos". The last book of these Historiae cited is the fifth, of which we have several fragments.

Under Sallust's name also appear two Invectiva against Cicero. Quintil.(4, 1, 68) speaks as follows: "Quid non Sallustius derecto ad Ciceronem, in quem ipsum dicebat, usus et principio et quidem protinus? (9, 3, 89)"... Apud Sallustium in Ciceronem 'O, Romule Arpinas'"...

Two Suasoriae, one a speech and one a letter addressed to Caesar and entitled De Republica, are also extant under the name of Sallust, and one of them (II, 9, 2,) presents a parallel to the invective against Cicero (3,5).

Q. HORTENSIUS HORTALUS

Though Q. Hortensius Hortalus delivered at least 14 orations, we have no proof that all of them were published, yet Cicero (Brutus 94, 324) says "dicendi genus quod fuerit in utroque (Cicerone et Hortensio) orationes utriusque etiam posteris nostris indicabant". Quintilian (10, 1, 23) indicates that his speech in behalf of Verres was published; "Etiam si minus pares videbuntur aliquæ tamen ad cognoscendam litium quaestionem recte requirentur ut contra Ciceronis oratione Tiberonis in Ligarium et Hortensi pro Verre".

Quintilian (2, 1, 11) says of his rhetorical writings
 ".... quibus quaestiones generaliter tractantur, quales sunt
 editi a Q. quoque Hortensio ...,"(2, 4, 27)".... quales sunt
 de testibus semperne his credendum et de argumentis 'an habenda
 etiam parvis fides'....ut quidam neque ignobiles in officiis
 civilibus scriptos eos....habuerint". The extent of them we do
 not know.

Gellius (19, 9, 7) speaks as follows concerning his
 poetry:"....et Hortensius invenusta et....ac deinceps omnes
 rudia fecerunt atque absona". Ovid (Trist. 2, 441) says "nec
 minus Hortensi nec sunt minus improba Servi carmina ". Pliny
 (Epist. 5, 3, 5) mentions Q. Hortensius among the men whose
 poems he had read.

Velleius (2, 16, 2) cites his Annales as follows".....
 cuius de virtutibus cum alii tum maxime dilucide Q. Hortensius
 in annalibus suis retulit".

HORTENSIA

That a speech of hers was handed down to Quintilian's
 time we know (1,1,6): "Et Hortensiae Q. filiae oratio apud
 triumviros habita legitur non tantum in sexus honorem".

M. ANTONIUS

Concerning the speeches of Antonius we the following
 references, (1) Asconius (In Milon. p. 41 Clark) says:"tum
 intra horam secundam accusatores coeperunt dicere Appius maior

et M. Antonius et...", but there is no evidence that it was published. (2) Cicero (Epist. ad Att. 7, 8, 5) "habebamus in manibus Antonii concionem habitam X Kal. Januar. in qua erat accusatio Pompei usque a toga pura".... (3) Plutarch (Ant. 14) says he spoke against Cassius and Brutus in behalf of Caesar. Cicero also mentions this speech in a letter to Atticus (14, 11, 1) "cum concionem lego". (4) Plutarch (Cic. 41) says "

Letters of his to Cicero remain (ad Att. 10, 8A and 14, 13A) In his Philippics Cicero mentions a letter written by Antonius to the Senate (8, 8, 25), and one to Hirtius and Octavian (13, 10, 22.). Ovid (ex Ponto 1, 1, 23) says "Antoni epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum probra, sed multa cum acerbitate habent".

He seems also to have written a monograph concerning his drunkenness: (Pliny, N. H. 14, 147): "Is ante eum (Ciceronem M.f.) avidissime adprehenderat hanc palman edito etiam volumine de sua ebriatate"..

THE LENTULI

Tacitus (Dial. 37) mentions the Lentuli as men devoted to oratory. Cicero (Brutus, 66, 234) also mentions both P. Corn. Lentulus and P. Lentulus as orators possessing a splendid delivery. There is nothing said as to the number of their speeches or as to whether they were published or not, although the fact that they were known by Tacitus, who lived at a later time, would give us the impression that their speeches were

published.

THE TWO METELLI

Cicero (Brutus 70, 247) says: "duo Metelli, Celer, et Nepos nonnihil in causis versati, nec sine ingenio nec indocti hoc erant populare dicendi genus assecuti". From Cicero (Epist. ad Att. 6, 3, 10) a speech of Celer Metellus seems to have been published: "orationem Q. Celeris mihi velim mittas contra M. Servilium".

POMPEY

Cicero (ad Att. 1, 14, 1) speaks of a speech Pompey made in the senate. Velleius (Paterc. 2, 27, 2) speaks of his style of oratory, but nothing is said as to whether his speeches were published or not. The fact that Velleius, who lived later, mentions him, would lead us to think his speeches had been published.

Letters of his are extant (Cic. ad Att 11, A; 8, 11C; 8, 12 A-D).

M. FAVONIUS

Gellius (15, 8.) has as the title of the chapter in which he discusses the work of M. Favonius; "Locus ex oratione Favoni, veteris oratoris, de cenarum atque luxuriae obprobatione, qua usus est, cum legem Liciniam de sumptu minuendo suasit". His discussion starts as follows; "cum legeremus orationem veterem

Favoni non indiserti viri, qua oratione.....". Thus we know one speech of his was published.

M. CALIDIUS

Nonius (208 M) gives a fragment of his oration against Q. Gallius: "Feminino Calidius oratione in Q. Gallium 'quarum iacent muri, navalia horreae curiaque et tabulariae publicae". Quintilian (10, 1, 23), Cicero (Epist. ad Q. fr. 2, 9, 2), Aëconius (p. 20 Clark, and In Milon. p, 34), and Cicero (Epist. ad Fam. 8, 4, 1) attribute five other orations to him but give no evidence that any of them were published.

C. LICINIUS CALVUS

Concerning letters of Calvus, Tacitus (Dial. 18) says "legistis utque et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas".

Concerning his speeches Tacitus (Dial. 21) says "ipse mihi Calvus, cum unum et viginti, ut puto, libros reliquerit, vix in una aut altera oratiuncula satis facit.... quotus enim quisque Calvi in Asitium aut in Drusum legit? At in omnium studiosorum manibus versantur accusationes quae in Vatinius inscribuntur, ac praecipue secunda ex his oratio(34) Nono decimo aetatis anno L. Crassus C. Carbonem, uno et vicesimo Caesar Dolabellam non multum antecedens Calvus Vatinius iis orationibus insecuti sunt, quas hodieque cum admiratione legimus". From the words of Tacitus we are led to think there were at least three speeches against Vatinius, one against

Asitius, and one against Drusus. Besides these there was one in behalf of Sestius (Schol. Bob. pro Sest. p. 292 Or.): "Hanc igitur eandem causam plurimi defenderunt in quibus fuit Q. Hortensius, M. Crassus, L. Licinius Calvus partibus inter se distributis quas in agendo tuerentur", one in behalf of C. Cato (Sen. Controv. 3, 19) and one in behalf of Messius (Sen. Controv. 7, 4, 8): "hic in epilogo, quem pro Messio tunc tertio causam dicente habuit, non tantum leniter componit sed summis, cum dicit"

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS

About the De Virtute of Brutus, the first of his philosophical writings, Cicero (Tusc. 5, 1, 1) says to Brutus: "placere tibi admodum sensi ex eo libro, quem ad me accuratissime scripsisti, et ex multis sermonibus tuis virtutem ad beate vivendum se ipsa esse contentam". Cicero (De Fin. 1, 3, 8) addressed to Brutus; "quamquam a te ipso id quidem facio provocatus gratissime mihi libro quem ad me virtute misisti".

(2) Sen. (Epist. 95, 45): "M. Brutus in eo libro quem περί καθήκοντος inscripsit". (3) Diomedes (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 383, 3) says of his De Patientia; "Brutus de patientia: 'inridunt horum lacrimas'".

Peter (Histor. Rom. Rel. 2, p. LXVI) says in speaking of his Epitomae: "Continuit enim se historicae scriptionis genus intra Epitomas quas fecit, Polybii, Coelii Antipatri, Fannii, amplitudine verborum ad eos delatus....." Polybius says, before the battle of Pharsalus, (Plutarch, Brutus, 4): ἄχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας ἔγραφε συντάττων ἐπιτομὴν πολυβίου. Suidas s.v. Βροῦτος στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τῶν Πολυβίου τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ βιβλίων ἐπιτομὴν.

In discussing Brutus as a poet Tacitus (Dial. 21) says "Fecerunt (Caesar et Brutus) et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt". Pliny (Epist. 5, 3, 5) numbers Brutus among the erotic poets.

The following speeches are attributed to him: (1) About the dictatorship of Pompey; "Quintil. (9, 3, 95): "Apud Brutum de dictatura Cn Pompei". (2) In behalf of T. Annius Milo: Quintil. (3, 6, 93): "Pro Milone aliud Ciceroni agenti placuit, aliud Bruto cum exercitationis gratia componeret orationem...." Ascon. (ad. Cic. pro Milone p. 42 Or.) "cum quibusdam placuisset ita defendi crimen interfici Clodium pro republica fuisse quam formam M. Brutus secutus est in ea oratione quam pro Milone composuit et edidit...." (3) In behalf of Appius Claudius Pulcher, Cic. (Brutus 94, 324): "Hortensium una tecum Brute, socerum tuum defendit Appium". There is no proof that it was published. (4) In behalf of King Deiotarus, Cic. (Brutus 5, 21); "Nempe igitur hinc tum, Pomponi, ductus est sermo, quod erat a me mentio facta causam Deiotari fidelissimum atque optimum regis ornatissime a Bruto me audisse defensam" (5) A speech made at the Capitol after the assassination of Caesar, Cic. (Epist. ad Att. 15, 1^b, 2): "Brutus noster misit ad me orationem suam habitam in concione Capitolina".

Besides these orations there were certain Laudationes written by him, Diomedes (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 367, 26): "Brutus laudatione Appi Claudii..." Cicero mentions (Epist. ad Att. 13, 46, 2; 12, 21, 1) writings in praise of Cato Uticensis.

Tacitus (Ann. 4, 34) speaks of certain Contiones Bruti

which "falsa quidem in Augustum probra, sed multa dum acorbitate habent".

Concerning his letters Pliny (N. H. 33, 39) says "M.Bruti ex Philippicis campis epistulae reperiuntur". Quintilian (9, 4, 75), Diomedes (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 338, 7), and Priscian (2, p. 474, 22) all mention his letters as though extant but do not say to whom they were addressed. Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 130, 15): "Brutus ad Ciceronem ..." Tacit. (Dial. 18): "Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas...." In the letters of Cicero ad Brutum there appear eight letters of Brutus: 1, 4; 1, 6; 1, 7; 1, 11; 1, 13; 1, 16; 2, 3 and 1, 17 (to Atticus).

In speaking of Empylus, Plutarch (Brutus, 2) says
 ὁ δ' Ἐμπύλος, οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ φίλοι μέμνηται
 πολλάκις ὡς συμβιοῦντος αὐτῷ ὁ ἥτωρ ἦν καὶ καταλέλοιπε
 μικρὸν μὲν, οὐ φαῦλον δὲ σύγγραμμα περὶ τῆς καίταρος ἀναι-
 ρεσίως, ὃ Βρούτος ἐπιγέγραπται."

Peter (Hist. Rom. Reliq. 2, p. LXVIII) suggests that Empylus was a rhetorician and friend of Brutus and that we cannot be certain whether he wrote this memorial for Brutus in Greek or Latin.

P. VOLUPTIUS

Plutarch (Brutus, 48) says "Πόπλιος Βολούπιος, ἀνὴρ φιλό-
 σοφος καὶ συνεστρατευμένος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Βρούτῳ".

There are two fragments, one of which gives a definite account of the battle of Philippi, the other ^{of} the period following the battle.

L. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS

Plutarch (Brutus 13) says "καί τι βιβλίδιον μικρόν ἀπομνημονευμάτων Βρούτου γεγραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διασώζεται.

Q. CORNIFICIUS

Cicero (Epist. ad Fam. 12, 17, 2) addressing Cornificius says, "proxime scripsi de optimo genere dicendi, in quo saepe suspicatus sum te a iudicio nostro, sic scilicet, ut doctum hominem ab non indocto, paullum dissidere; huic tu libro maxime velim ex animo, si minus, gratiae causa suffragere" No reference is made to the publication of his works.

C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO

(1) Asconius (In Orat. Cic. p. C. Cornelio p. 63 Or) says: "accusavit vero Q. Metellum Nepotem, Balearici filium". (2) Cic. (de Or. 2, 23, 98) says "in ea causa, quam ille (Curio) contra me apud centumviros pro fratribus dixit". (3) Schol. Bob. (In Clod. et Cur. p. 330 Or.) says "reus de incesto factus est P. Clodius accusante L. Lentulo, defendente C. Curione patre". (4) Cic. (Brutus, 60, 217): "Cum ego pro Titinia Cottae peroravissem, ille (Curio) contra me pro Ser. Naevio diceret"..... The last seems to have been published.

Pliny in his introduction to book 3 of his Naturalis Historia cites Curio as an authority on navigation, but we have no proof that he produced any separate work on that subject.

C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO (THE YOUNGER)

Pliny (N.H. 7, 41): "Una familia Curionum in qua tres continua serie oratores extiterunt" Tacitus (Dial. 37) also mentions him among the orators but says nothing of the extent of his speeches or their publication.

M. CAELIUS RUFUS

(1) Cicero (pro Cael. 31, 74) says: "(Caelius) accusavit C. Antonium, collegam meum, cum misero praeclari in rem publicam beneficii memoria nihil profuit" (2) 31, 76 "Nomen mei amici (L. Sempronius Atratinus) de ambitu detulit; quem absolutum insequitur, revocat...." (3) Ascon. (In Milon. p. 54, Or.) says: "Post Milonem eadem lege Pompeia primus est accusatus M. Saufeius ... Accusaverunt eum L. Cassius....M. Caelius, obtinueruntque ut una sententia absolveretur". (4) Valerius Maximus (4, 2, 7) says concerning his speech against Q. Pompeius Rufus: "Caeli vero Rufi ut vita inquinata, ita misericordia, quam Q. Pompeio praestitit, probanda". (5) Frontinus (De Aquae Ductibus 76) says: "ac de vitiis eiusmodi nec plura nec melius dici possunt, quam a Caelio Rufo dicta sunt in ea concione, cui titulus est De Aquis". (6) Pliny (N. H. 27, 2) says: "hoc fuit ventum quo interemptas dormientis a Calpurnio Bestia uxores M. Caecilius accustor obiecit". Schanz (§ 139, p. 225) thinks this Caecilius should be corrected to Caelius. Of his six speeches only his De Aquis seems to have been published.

The eighth book of Cicero's letters ad Fam. contains 17

letters of his to Cicero, the 16th of which is also in the collection to Atticus.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS

Cicero (Brutus 66, 233) says of Crassus: "in huius oratione sermo latinus erat, verba non abiecta, res compositae diligenter!" There is no evidence of its publication. Plutarch (Crassus, 3) assigns to him ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πόνος although he says nothing of having seen any published speeches of Crassus. Crassus defended; (1) Murena, with Cicero and Hortensius, Cic. (pro Murena 4, 10): "...et si hoc idem Q. Hortensio, M. Crasso clarissimis viris, si item ceteris quibus intellego tuam gratiam aestimari accidisset, in ea civitate consul designatus defensionem non haberet...." ; (2) Balbus with Cicero and Pompey (pro Balbo 7, 17) "Nihil enim mihi, novi nihil integri neque M. Crassus qui totam causam et pro facultate et pro fide sua diligentissime vobis explicavit"...; (3) M. Caelius Rufus with Cicero (pro Caelio 8, 18) "...quo loco possum dicere id, quod vir clarissimus M. Crassus cum de adventu regis Ptolemaei queretur paulo ante dixit..." ; (4) P. Sestius with Cicero (Schol. Bob. pro Sest. p. 292 Or.) "Hanc igitur eandem causam defenderent in quibus fuit Q. Hortensius, M. Crassus, L. Licinus Calvus, partibus inter se distributius quas in agendo tuerentur". That speeches of his were published we know from Tacitus (Dial. 37) where he speaks of the ancient records compiled by Mucianus, arranged and edited in 11 volumes, which make it clear that M. Crassus and others rose to their power by their talent for

oratory as well as through war.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA

Cicero (Brutus 70, 246) says of Messala: "M. Messala minor natu quam nos, nullo modo inops, sed non nimis ornatus genere verborum". Nothing is said as to the number and publication of his works.

M. TULLIUS CICERO

A. Westermann, in his Geschichte der römischen Beredsamkeit (pp. 341-2), gives a list of 116 speeches of M. Cicero, but 4 are acknowledged to be spurious and 2 or 3 others are based on insufficient evidence. C. F. Müller, in his edition of Cicero's works, prints 58 speeches that are fairly complete, 17 which exist in fragmentary form, and the titles of 31 which have been completely lost. J. E. Granrud (P. A. P. A. 44, preliminary 1913, pp. XXVIII-XXX), in a list of Cicero's orations, gives as his total 153 but inasmuch as he has not yet published his full list it is impossible to compare it with that of Westermann. Of this number 58 are preserved, 15 fragmentary, 4 titles are given for which we have evidence that the speeches were published, and 5 which were probably published; making a total of 82 speeches we can consider as published and doubtless many of the remainder were also thus preserved.

We have evidence that the following non-extant speeches were published:---

1. Laudatio Porciae: Cic. (ad Att. 12, 37, 3): "Laudationem Porciae gaudeo me ante dedisse Leptae tabellario, quam tuas acceperim litteras"; also (ad Att. 13, 48, 2): "Laudationem Porciae tibi misi correctam".
2. Laudatio Serrani Domestici filii: Cic. (ad Q. Fr. 3,8): "Serrani Domestici filii funus perluctuosum fuit a.d. VIII K. Decembr. Laudavit pater scripta meo".
3. Pro C. Antonio: Dio Cass. (38, 10, 4): ὑποπτός τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὁ Κικέρων τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Πομπήῳ γενόμενος ἐβεβαίωσατο τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐν τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀπολογία
4. Pro Caninio Gallo: Cic. (ad Fam. 7, 1, 4) "His ego tamen diebus ludis scaenicis, ne forte videar tibi non modo beatus, sed liber omnino fuisse, dirupi me paene in iudicio Galli Canini, familiaris tui".

The following speeches were very likely (though by no means certainly) published since they are mentioned by men who lived at a later time than Cicero himself.

1. Pro Saufeio II. Ascon. (Comm. in Or. Milon. p. 54 Or.): "Post Milonem eadem lege Pompeia primus est accusatus M. Saufeius qui dux fuerat in expugnanda taberna Bovillis et Clodio occidendo, Defenderunt M. Cicero et...."
2. Pro T. Ampio Ceterisve. Quintil. (3, 8, 50) "An eodem modo cogitavit, aut eandem personam induit Cicero....et quum T. Ampio Ceterisve scriberet...."
3. Pro Popilio Laenate. Valer. Max. (5, 3, 4) "M. Cicero C. Popilium Laenatem Picenae regionis rogatu M. Caeli non minore cura quam eloquentia defendit. Invalidae ad hoc monstrum suggilandum litterae, quoniam qui talem Ciceronis casum satis

digne deplorare possit alius Cicero non exstat".

4. Pro Q. Mucio. Ascon. (Comm. in Or. in Toga Candid. p.86. Or.) "Verum cum ageret Mucii causam Cicero, cur non idem in Catilina faciat..."

5. De Pace. Dio Cass. (45, 22-33) gives a speech which Cicero is supposed to have delivered. Though doubtless in large part the invention of Dio this may be based upon his knowledge of the real speech of Cicero.

Rhetorical Writings.

Cicero's rhetorical writings include the following:

De Inventione 2 Bks., De Oratore 3 Bks., Partitiones Oratoriae 1 Bk., Brutus 1 Bk., Orator 1 Bk., De Optimo Genere Oratorum 1 Bk., and Topica 1 Bk. These are preserved essentially entire with the exception of his Orator which has a little lacking at the end.

Letters.

Schanz (155, 5) says there are extant 864 letters of which 774 are by Cicero himself, and that as many are lost. C. F. Müller, Baiter-Kayser, and L. C. Purser, however, agree in the following numbering.

ad Familiares	16 Bks.	421 letters	350 by Cicero
" Atticum	16 "	397 "	397 " "
" Brutum	2 "	23 "	15 " "
" Q. Fratrem	<u>3 "</u>	<u>28 "</u>	<u>28 " "</u>
Total	37 "	869 "	790 " "

Schanz has taken his numbers from H. Peter (Der Brief, p. 29), who although he gives no reason for his numbering probably has

used a text in which more of the letters have been combined than in those which I have followed.

We have evidence for the following lost letters:----

1. Ad C. Pompeium. Nonius (p. 293M): "M. Tullius ad Pompeium lib. IV..."
2. Ad Caesarem et ad Caesarem Iuniorem. Nonius (p. 286 M.): "Tullius ad Caesarem Lib. III". Nonius (p. 329 M): "M. Tullius Caesarem Iuniorem Lib. III!" If we consider, with Schanz, that these are two different collections then we shall have testimony here for at least six books.
3. Ad Hirtium. Nonius (p. 450 M): Idem ad Hirtium lib. IX". Nonius (p. 437 M): "M. Tullius ad Hirtium lib. VII...."
4. Ad C. Pansam. Nonius (p. 92 M): "M. Tullius ... idem ad Pansam lib. III"
5. Ad Q. Axium. Fronto (p. 107, Naber): "Tres libros, duos ad Brutum unum ad Axium, "but Nonius (p. 509 M) says"(M. Tullius) idem ad Axium lib. II describi iubebis". Schanz is inclined to the view that the collection of letters to Axius consisted of at least two books.
6. Ad M. Filium. Nonius (p. 275 M.): "M. Tullius ad filium lib. II.."
7. Ad Calvum. Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 490, 12): "Cicero Epistularum ad Calvum primo". Since Priscian quotes a primus liber we may perhaps safely assume at least three books.
8. Ad Cornelium Nepotum. Macrobian (Sat. 2, 1, 14): "Testis idem Cicero qui in libro Epistularum ad Cornelium Nepotem secundo sic ait...."

Besides these there are several letters mentioned which

seem to have no place in the collections hitherto mentioned. From the difficulty of knowing the extent of these, because of the scanty references to them, I shall not include them in my reckoning.

1. Ad M. Titinium. Sueton. (De Rhet. 2): "De hoc Cicero ad M. Titinium sic refert".
2. Ad Catonem. Nonius (p. 438 M.): "Atque ideo M. Tullius ~~maius dixerit~~ scitula ad Catonem".
3. Ad Caerelliam. Quintil. (6, 3, 112): "Etiam illud fuod Cicero Caerelliae scripsit."
4. Ad Hostilium. Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 110 "...quamvis Cicero dixerit quietem ad Hostilium").

In all, his lost letters form at least 32 books, and if we accept Nonius' statement (p. 421 M.) there were originally more than 40, for he says "Cicero ad Brutum et lib. IX", though only two books of these letters are extant.

Philosophical Writings.

Cicero's philosophical writings include:

Hortensius (ca. 7 pages extant); Academica Priora, (2 bks., one of which is extant); Academica Posteriora (4 bks., of which one is extant); De Finibus, 5; Tusculan Disputations 5; De Natura Deorum 3; De Divinatione, 2; De Fato, 1 (about half of which remains); De Republica, 6 (and parts of all these remain, in amount equivalent to ca. two bks., if compared with the length of those of the De Natura Deorum or the De Divinatione); De Legibus at least 5 (3 extant); Consolatio, 1 (ca. 1 page extant); De Senectute, 1; Paradoxa, Introduct. and 6 chaps.; Timaeus, 1; De Amicitia, 1; De Officiis, 3;

De Gloria, 2, (ca. half a page extant); De Virtutibus, 1 bk. (of which only 4 words are extant); De Auguriis, at least 2 bks., according to Serv. Verg. (Aen. V, 738): "... Cicero in auguralibus", of which 4 words remain; De Iure Civili in artem redigendo, 1 bk. (ca. 2 lines extant); Oeconomicus, 3 bks. (ca. 9 lines remaining); Protagoras, 1 bk. (ca. 8 lines extant); Cato, 1 bk. (ca. 5 lines extant).

Historical and Geographical Writings.

Schol. Bob. (p. 148 Hildebrandt) give, "Significari scio epistulam non mediocris instar voluminis scriptam, quam Pompeio in Asiam de rebus suis in consulatu gestis miserat Cicero" Only 8 lines of this are extant.

Cic. (Ad Att. 1, 19, 10) mentions certain writings De Suo Consulatu, "commentarium consulatus mei graece compositum misi ad te latinum si perfecero, ad te mittam. Tertium poema exspectato". Later he mentions the third book of the poem as completed (2, 3, 3): "Sed me κατὰ κλεις mea illa commovet, quae est in libro tertio. 86 lines of this remain.

De Consiliis Suis. Boeth. (De Iust. Mus. 1, 1) says "Tullius in libro quem de consiliis suis composuit. 8 lines are extant.

De Temporibus Suis. Cic. (Ad Fam. 1, 9, 23) says to Lentulus; "Scripsi etiam versibus tres libros de temporibus meis...." No fragments are extant.

Marius. Cic. (Ad Att. 12, 49, 1) says: "per eum Marium quem scripsissem". Of this poem 16 lines are extant.

Concerning his Chorographia, Cic. says (ad Att. 2, 4, 3): "De geographia dabo operam" (2, 7, 1) "De Geographia etiam etiam atque ^{etiam} deliberabimus". Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 267, 5)

speaks of the work as "Cicero in Chorographia". Nothing is known of the length of the work of which two lines are extant.

Pliny (N. H. 31, 12; 31, 51) speaks of a work of Cicero's "in admirandis". We have no evidence as to the length of the writing and there are no fragments.

Cicero (ad Q. Fr. 3, 1, 11) speaks of a poem which he had composed for Caesar concerning his expedition into Britain. No fragments remain.

Plut. (Cic. 2) mentions a poem, Glaucus, which Cicero wrote.

Serv. ad Verg. (Ecl. 1, 58) says "Cicero in elegia quae talia masta inscribitur". One line remains of this poem, whose title is uncertain.

Jul. Capitol. (Gordian. 3, 2): "adulescens cum esset Gordianus ... poemata scripsit, et quidam cuncta illa quae Cicero, id est Marium et Aratum et Halcyonus et Uxorium et Nilum." Two lines of the Halcyones remain but no fragments of the others.

Sueton. (Vit. Ter. 5) speaks of a certain Limon which he says Cicero wrote, and we have a fragment of 4 lines.

Pliny (Epist. 7, 4, 3) says "incidit epigramma Ciceronis in Tironem suum", and Quintil. (8, 6, 73) speaks of these epigrams: "Ciceronis est in quodam ioculari libello". Four lines of them are preserved.

Cic. (De Nat. Deor. 2, 41, 104) makes Balbus say, "utar, inquit, carminibus Aratiis, quae a te admodum adulescentulo conversa ita me delectant...." (Ad Att. 15, 16): "Equidem etiam pluvias metuo, si Prognostica nostra vera sunt". There are

extent 534 lines of the Phaeonema and 26 of Prognostica.

M. TULLIUS TIRO

Concerning his *Vita Ciceronis*, Asconius (p. 48, Clark) says: "ut legimus apud Tironem libertum Ciceronis in libro IIII de vita eius." Tacitus (Dial. 17) also mentions it... "ut Tiro libertus eius scripsit certimo Idus Decembres occisus est."

Gellius (13, 9, 2) speaks of his De Usu atque ratione linguae Latinae as follows, "Is (Tiro) libros compluris de usu atque ratione linguae Latinae composuit."

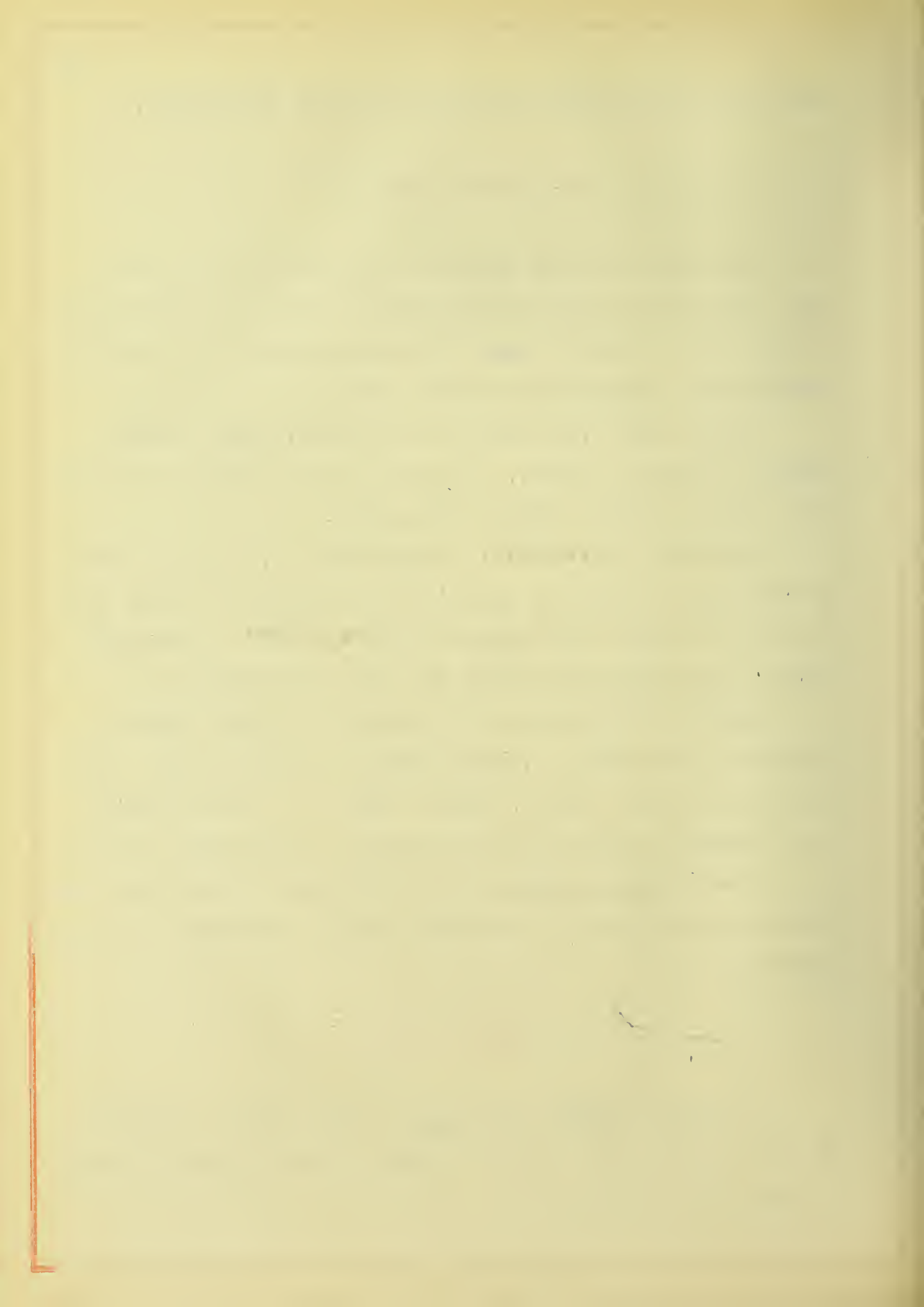
Concerning his Πανδέκται, Gellius (13, 9, 2) says; "Item de variis atque promiscis quaestionibus composuit. In his esse praecipui videntur, quos Graeco titulo Πανδέκτας inscripsit tamquam omne rerum atque doctinarum genus continentis."

Letters of his were known; Gellius (6, 5, 10) "(Tiro) epistulam concripsit ad ". Axiu familiarem patroni sui", and one to an uncertain person, Gellius (10, 1, 7): "Tiro Tullius ...in epistula quadam enarratius scripsit ad hunc ferme modum."

Cicero (Epist. ad Fam. 16, 18, 3) speaks of his poetry, "Tu nullosne tecum libellos? An pangis aliquid Sophocleum? fac opus appareat."

TULLIUS LAUREA

E. Baehrens (Fragm. Poet. Rom. p. 316) gives a fragment of about 10 lines from a Latin epigram written by Tullius Laurea in honor of Cicero.



Q. TULLIUS CICERO

Letters of Q. Tullius Cicero in Ad Fam. (16, 8; 16, 26; 16, 27) have been counted in M. Tullius Cicero's works.

His Commentariolum Petitionis, almost equal in length to one book, is extant.

Among his lost writings are dramatic poems, (ad Q. Fr. 3, 6, 7), "quattuor tragoedias sedecim diebus absolvisse cum scribas, tu quidquam ab alio mutuaris?" et πάθος quaeris, cum Electram et Aëropam, (according to Bücheler's emendation) scripseris sed et istas et Erigonam mihi velim mittas". (2, 1, 15) "Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους quamquam a te factam (so Bücheler for Mss. actam) fabellam video esse festive, nullo modo probavi".

M. Cicero (ad Q. Fr. 2, 15, 4) speaks of another writing: "O iucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! te vero ὑπόθεσιν scribendi egregiam habere video".

M. Cicero (ad Att. 2, 6, 14) says: "ne rogat ut annales suos emendam et edam". Whether these Annales were ever published we do not know.

Twenty hexameter verses of his De Signis remain, (E. Baehrens, Frag. Poet. Rom. p. 315).

L. Aurunculus Cotta also wrote concerning the expedition of Julius Caesar into Britain (Athen. 6, 273b): "Ιούλιος Καίσαρ ὁ πρῶτος πάντων ἀνθρώπων περαιωθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰς Βρεττανίδας νήτους μετὰ χιλίων σκαφῶν τρεῖς οἰκέτας τοὺς πάντας συνεπήγετο ὡς Κόττας ἔστορεῖ ὁ τότε ὑποστρατηγῶν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας συγγράμματι. ὅτῃ πατριῷ ἡμῶν γέγραπται φωνῇ."

P. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS

From Gellius (10, 5, 1) we know there were at least 29 books of the Commentarii Grammatici by Figulus.

Quintil. (11, 3, 143) says of his De Gestu; "Togam veteres ad calceos usque demittebant, ut Graeci pallium; idque ut fiat, qui de gestu scripserunt circa tempora illa, Plotius Nigidiusque praecipunt".

Macrob. (Sat. 6, 9, 5): "P. Nigidius in libro, quem de extis composuit".

Laur. Lydus (De Ostentis, 45): Ὁ Νιγίδιος ἐν τῇ τῶν Ὀνειρώων ἐπισκέψει παραδίδωται."

Schol. Dan. ad Verg. (Georg. 1, 43): "Nigidius in Sphaera graecanica novum annum aequinoctium vernale memorat," and in 1, 218, "Nigidius commentariis sphaerae graecanicae". Nothing is known as to the extent of the work.

Schol. Dan. ad Verg. (Georg. 1, 19) gives a fragment of his sphaera barbarica.

Gellius (2, 22, 31) says: "P. Nigidii in secundo librorum quos de vento composuit, verba hoc sunt....."

Macrob. (Sat. 3, 16, 7) says, "in cuius (Nigidii Figuli) libro de animalibus IIII ita positum est".

Schol. Dan ad Verg. (Aen. 1, 177), "Nigidius de hominum naturalibus IIII."

Schol. Dan ad Verg. (Aen. 11, 715) "Nigidius de terris". The title of this work is questioned, but from the context it seems that de terris or de terra are more probable than de Sphaera as Swoboda (p. 128) would write it.
 P.N.F. OPERUM RELIGUAE, Wien. 1889.

Laur. Lydus (De Ostentis c. 27-38) treats of an ἐφήμερος

(Βροντοσκοπία by Figulus, "ἐφήμερος βροντοσκοπία τοπικὴ ἢ πρὸς τὴν τελήνην κατὰ τὸν Ῥωμαῖον Φίγουλόν ἐκ τῶν Τάχνητος καθ' ἑρμηνείαν πρὸς λέξιν."

M. TERENTIUS VARRO

Ritschl (Opusc. 3, p. 525) edits a catalogue of the works of Varro made by St. Jerome. It was a part of a letter sent by him to Paula. All of this letter is not handed down, but it is broken in about the middle, and contains only 39 titles, and we have evidence for the existence of the following works of Varro which are omitted from it.

1. De Compositione Saturarum. Nonius (p. 67M.): "Varro de compositione saturarum;" We have no evidence for more than one book.
2. De Poetis. Gellius (17, 21, 43) says: "M. Varro in primo de poetis libro scripsit." Since he uses the term primo libro we may assume the existence of at least 3 books. It may also be noted that in the catalogue 3 seems to be a favorite number of books in a work of this author.
3. De Comoediis Plautinis. Gellius (3, 3, 9): "M. tamen Varro in libro de comoediis Plautinis primo verba haec ponit" Reasoning along the same line as in De Poetis, we conclude there were at least 3 books.
4. De Gente Populi Romani. Arnobius (Adv. Nat. 5, 8): "Varro ille....in librorum quattuor primo quos de gente conscriptos Romani populi dereliquit....edocet...."
5. De Familiis Troianis. Serv. ad Verg. (Aen. 5, 704):....

quod etiam Varro docet in libris quos de familiis Troianis scripsit". There must have been at least 2 books.

6. Tribuum Liber. Varro (De Ling. Lat. 5, 56): "...Sic reliquae triginta ab his rebus, quibus in tribuum libro scripsi".

7. Aetia. Serv. ad Verg. (Aen. 1, 408): "...cuius rei τὸ αἴτιον id est causam Varro Callimachum secutus, exposuit". Nothing is known of this, and though Callimachus wrote a work called αἴτια, it is doubtful whether this reference to Varro proves a separate work by him or not.

8. Isagogicus ad Pompeium. Gellius (14, 7, 2): "Eum librum commentarium, quem super ea re Pompeio fecerat, perisse Varro ait in litteris, quas ad Oppianum...."

9. Rhetoricorum Libri. Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 489): "Varroin libro III rhetoricorum."

10. De Mensuris. Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 420): "Sunt verba, quibus desunt et tempora et personae, ut 'fores foret forent fore'....cuius Varro in Mensuris et primam ponit personam". We have no evidence that this work consisted of more than one book.

11. De Gradibus. Serv. ad Verg. Aen. 5, 412): "Haec Germanus: germanus est, secundum Varronem in libris de gradibus". There must have been at least two books.

12. De Ora Maritima. Schol. Dan. Ad Verg. (Aen. 1, 108): "Varro de ora maritima lib. 1. There were evidently two or more books, and Solinus (11, 6) speaks of a work by Varro, which he calls De Litoralibus whose subject matter must have been so nearly identical that we are probably justified in thinking they are the same.

13. Liber de Aestuariis. Varro (De Ling. Lat. 9, 26): "De quibus (aestuariis) in libro quem de aestuariis feci, scripsi." It may be possible that this is identical with his De Ora Maritima, but the burden of the proof rests upon the one who so identifies it.
14. Ephemeris Navalis. Vegetius (De R. M. 5, 11): ".... quae Vergiliuset Varro in libris navalibus diligenter excoluit". It seems to have been a work on navigation and what Schanz (§ 190, p. 440) calls the 2nd Ephemeris is probably identical, because the fragment quoted by Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 256, 20) "Varro in Ephemeride: postea honoris virtutum causa Iulii Caesaris qui fastus porrexit, mensis Iulius est appellatus", is appropriate in subject matter, and it is called simply Ephemeride by Priscian, who, if there had been more than one Ephemeris by Varro, would probably have used some qualified expression.
15. The Ephemeris Navalis and Libri Navales mentioned by Vegetius may have been identical but the burden of the proof rests upon the one who identifies them.
16. De Sermone Latino ad Marcellum. Rufinus (Gramm. Lat. 6, p. 556) reads: "Idem Varro in eodem septimo de lingua latina ad Marcellum sic dicit". Schanz thinks this and the De Sermone Latino ad Marcellum are one, taking into account that lingua must include pronunciation, accent, rhythm, and style. The fragment which remains deals with the accent.
17. De Utilitate Sermonis. Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 123) says; "Aenigmata Varro de utilitate sermonis IIII".
18. περί χαρακτήρων. Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 189): "Varro sic ait in IIII περί χαρακτήρων 'proprius proxime'...."

19. De Antiquitate Litterarum. Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p.8): "...quod esse ostendit Varro in II de Antiquitate Litterarum".
20. Epistolicae Quaestiones. Gellius (14, 7, 3) says "eum librum commentarium, quem super ea re Pompeio fecerat, perisse Varro ait in litteris, quas ad Oppianum dedit, quae sunt in libro epistolicarum quaestionum quarto...." There were at least 8 books Ritschl thinks, and corrects Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 108) which reads "Et Varro Epistularum VIII" to "Epistolicarum VIII". Nonius (p. 473M) says: "Varro Epistula latina lib. II", but it is possible that these form only a part of the Epistolicae Quaestiones. In the case of the emendation which Ritschl makes of Charisius' reading of the title, also, we can not consider it certain.

The catalogue gives 45 books of Varro's Antiquitatum rerum humanarum et divinarum while Augustine (De Civ. Dei. 6, 3) says "XLI libros scripsit antiquitatum; hos in res humanas divinasque divisit, rebus humanis XXV, divinis XVI tribuit." From the fact that Augustine has divided the work into definite parts and given the number of books in each, I am inclined to believe that his number 41 is correct.

The catalogue, giving 3 books of the De Actionibus Scaenicis, disagrees with Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 95, 18): "De Actionibus Scaenicis V". Charisius probably had the work before him as he quotes directly from the 5th book, and considering this and the fact that in many cases the catalogue was incomplete I am inclined to accept his numbering.

The catalogue has 426 books and there are 98 in the titles

I have mentioned, making a total of 524. Ritschl (Opusc. 3, p. 487) thinks it is probable that all of Varro's writings included at least 620 books. He is assuming a possibility, however, for which he has little evidence, and I am inclined to keep the numbering for which we have definite evidence.¹

L. PLOTIUS GALLUS

Quintilian (1, 3, 143) speaks as follows concerning his De Gestu: "De Gestu scripserunt....Plotius Nigidiusque". Nothing is said as to its length.

SAEVIUS NICANOR

Sueton. (De. Gramm. 5): "Saevius Nicanor primus ad famam dignationemque docendo pervenit, fecitque praeter commentariossaturam quoque, in qua libertinum se ac duplici cognomine esse per haec indicat". We may take for granted then, that he wrote two commentaries at least, and a satire. Fragments of the latter remain. (E. Baehrens, Frag. Poet. Rom. p. 294.)

1. Ritschl gives as the basis of his assumption that Varro wrote at least 620 books, certain combinations of titles of works in which the subject matter is somewhat similar, but does not in any case give definite proof for his belief.

AURELIUS OPILIUS

Sueton. (De Gramm. 6): "Aurelius Opilius composuit-que variae eruditionis aliquot volumina, ex quibus novem unius corporis, quia scriptores ac poetas sub clientela Musarum indicaret, non absurdo et fecisse et inscripsisse se ait ex numero divarum et appellatione. Huius cognomen in plerisque indicibus et titulis per unam litteram scriptum animadverto, verum ipse id per duas effert in parastichide libelli, qui inscribitur pinax". We may believe, then, that he wrote the Musarum libri Novem and this pinax.

M. ANTONIUS GNIPHO

Sueton. (De Gramm. 7): "Scripsit multa....etsi Ateius Philologus duo tantum volumina de latino sermone reliquisse eum tradit nam cetera scripta discipulorum eius esse non ipsius".

M. POMPILIUS ANDRONICUS

Sueton. (De Gramm. 8): "Verum adeo inops atque egens ut coactus sit praecipuum illud opusculum suum annalium Enni elenchorum sedecim milibus nummum cuidam vendere, quos libros Orbilius suppressos redemisse se dicet volgandoque curasse nomine auctoris".

L. ORBILIUS PUPILLUS

Sueton. (De Gramm. 9): "Librum etiam cui est titulus $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha\lambda\gamma\eta\varsigma$ edidit continentem querelas de iniuriis..." We do not know whether it was in Latin or Greek, but since he was a Roman, it was probably in Latin.

L. ATEIUS PRAETEXTATUS

Sueton. (De Gramm. 10) mentions a Breviarium rerum omnium Romanarum and a De ratione scribendi but whether they were published or only privately circulated is not clear. Of his $\Upsilon\lambda\eta$, Ateius himself says (Epistula apud Suetonium): "Hyllen nostram aliis memento commendare quam omnis generis coegimus, uti scis, octingentos in libros".

Festus (p. 181 M.) speaks of a LiberGlossematorum; "Ocrim antiqui, et Ateius philologus in libro glossematorum refert".

Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 134, 4): "Iugeris Ateius philologus Pinacon III".

Charis. (p. 127, 17) also notes: "Ateius philologus librum suum sic edidit, inscriptum "An amaverit Didun Aeneas".

Sueton. (De Gramm. 10) speaks of "Epistulae ad Laelium Herman".

STABERIUS EROS

1. De Proportione. Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 385, 1): "Staberius de proportione: non esse positiones regulae, a

quibus interdum analogia calumniatur, *τοῦ δ' ἀντιγράφου*. ".
 He seems also to have made revisions of others' works. Fronto
 (p. 20 Haber): "quorum libri pretiosiores habentur et summam
 gloriam retinent, si sunt a Lampidione aut Staberio...." We
 know nothing of the size of his work.

CURTIUS NICIA

Sueton. (De Gramm. 14); "huius de Lucilio libros etiam
 Santra comprobant". He then implies that there were at least
 two books.

CORNELIUS EPICADUS

(1) De Cognominibus. Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 110, 3):
 "Epicadus de cognominibus". (2) De Metris: Victorinus (Gramm.
Lat. 6, p. 209, 9): "Cornelius Epicadus in eo libro quem de
 metris scripsit". (3) De Sigillaribus: Macrobius (Sat. 1, 11,
 47); "(De Sigillaribus) Epicadus refert".

LENAEUS

Schol. in Juv. (Sat. 1, 20) says: "...vel Lenium dicit,
 qui et ipse saturas scripsit". Causabon here changes Lenium
 to Lenaenum. Nothing is said of the number of his satires.

M. EPIDIUS

Pliny (N. H. 17, 243) says "qualibus ostentis Aristandri apud Graecos volumen scatet....apud nos vero C. Epidii commentarii, in quibus arbores locutae quoque reperiuntur". We do not know how many he wrote.

SEX. CLODIUS

Lactant. (Div. Inst. 1, 22, 11) speaks of Sex. Clodius as writing a book in Greek. Arnobius (Adv. Nat. 5, 18) says Sex. Clodius wrote "de diis in Graeco." Porphyrius in Bk. I of his treatise περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων speaks of an essay by Clodius πρὸς τοὺς ἀπεχομένους τῶν τὰ κῶν. We do not know whether it was written in Greek or Latin.

T. ANNIUS CIMBER

The only thing we know of Cimper as a writer is from Sueton. (Aug. 86) who says: "dubitas, Cimperne Annius an imitandi sint tibi, ita ut verbis....utaris".

SANTRA

We have evidence for at least three books of his De Antiquitate Litterarum, from Nonius (p. 170M.) who says: "Santra de verborum III: quod volumen unum nos lectitavimus et...."

Hieronym. (De Vir. Ill. praef.), speaking of the writing

of the works De Viris Illustribus, says "fecerunt hoc idem apud Latinos Varro, Santra...."

From Nonius (p. 78M.) we learn that he wrote a tragedy, "Santra nuntiis Bacchis". O. Ribbeck (Tragic. Rom. Frag. 3rd Ed. p. 264) gives the title as Nuptiae Bacchi.

Q. COSCONIUS

Varro (De Lingua Lat. 6, 89) says: "Cosconius in actionibus scribit praetorem accensum solitum esse iubere". We have no reason for thinking there was more than one book.

SER. CLODIUS

Gellius (13, 23, 19): "In commentario quodam Servii Claudii scriptum invenimus". From Cicero (Ad Fam. 9, 16, 4) it seems he wrote a Plautine index of uncertain length.

GAVIUS BASSUS

Gellius (2, 4, 3); "Gavius Bassus in tertio librorum quos de origine vocabulorum composuit...." (3, 9, 1); "dixit quispiam....se Gavi Bassi de origine vocabulorum VIII legisse".

Gellius (3, 9, 1) speaks of commentarii written by Bassus, and Macrobius (Sat. 3, 18, 2) says: "Gavius Bassus in libro de significatione verborum hoc refert". These are probably a part of his De Origine Vocabulorum, however, since the subject matter is so similar.

Macrobius (Sat. 1, 9, 13) says: "Gavius Bassus in libro quem de diis composuit..."

Fulgentius (Expositio Sermonum Antiq. 33): "Gavius Bassus in satiris ait...." No evidence is given concerning their number.

SP. MAECIUS TARPA

Auctarium Donati (p. 9, Messner) reads: "Duos Terentios poetas fuisse scribit Maecius, quorum alter Fregellanus fuerit Terentius Libo, alter libertinus Terentius Afer, patria". Judging from this reference he was evidently a literary historian.

VOLNIUS

Varro (De Lingua Lat. 5, 55) says: "...ut Volnius, qui tragoedias tuskas scripsit, dicebat".

SABIDIUS

Schol. Veron. ad Verg. (Aen. 10, 241) "Sabidius commentator XII Vers. Salior.", "ut in exercitu prius quam acies instrueretur is, penes quem imperium auspiciūque erat..." We do not know the extent of this commentary.

AUCTOR AD HERENNIIUM

The author of the Ad Herennium says (3, 1, 1): "nunc earum

rationem rerum inveniendarum, quae pertinebant ad causas deliberativas in hunc librum transtulimus, ut omnis inveniendi praeceptio tibi quam primum persolveretur. Reliquae quattuor partes erant artificii. De tribus partibus in hoc libro dictum est dispositione, pronuntiatione, memoria. De elocutione, quia plura dicenda videbantur, in quarto libro conscribere maluimus! All four books are extant.

C. AQUILIUS GALLUS

Cic. (Top. 32): "Aquilus collega et familiaris meus, cum de litoribus ageretur, quae omnia publica esse vultis, quaerentibus iis, quos ad id pertinebat, quid esset litus, ita definire". Cic. (De Off. 3, 14, 60) also says; "nondum protulerat de dolo malo formulas". We have no evidence that either of these was any definitely published work.

SULPICIUS RUFUS.

Pompon. (Dig. 1, 2, 2, 43) says: "reliquit prope centum et octoginta libros". His various writings include the following:

1. De Sacris detestandis. Gellius (7, 12, 1): "Ser. Sulpicius iure consultus vir aetatis suae doctissimus in libro de sacris detestandis secundo".
2. De Dotibus. Gellius (4, 3, 2): "Saevius Sulpicius in libro, quem composuit de dotibus....
3. Reprehensa Scaevolae Capita. Gellius (4, 1, 20) "De

penu adscribendum hoc etiam putavi Servium Sulpicium in reprehensis Scaevolae capitibus scripsisse". No evidence is given as to the number.

(4) Commentary on the Twelve Tables. Pompon. (Dig. 50, 16, 237): "Gaius libro quinto ad legem duodecim tabularum duobus negativis verbis quasi permittit lex magis quam prohibuit, idque etiam Servius animadvertit". We do not know the length of the commentary.

(5) Ad Edictum libri duo ad Brutum subscripti. Pompon. (Dig. 1, 2, 2, 44): "Servius duos libros ad Brutum perquam brevissimos ad edictum subscriptos reliquit". Concerning his speeches Quintilian (10, 7, 30) says: "feruntur aliorum quoque et inventi forte ut eos dicturus quisque composuerat et in libros digesti, ut causarum quae sunt actae a Ser. Sulpicio cuius tres orationes extant". Of these three speeches we know only two, one against Aufidia (Quintil. 6, 1, 20) and one in behalf of Aufidia (Quintil. 4, 2, 106), which two some would identify by assuming a mistake in the citation of one of the prepositions.

Two letters of his are extant. (Cic. ad Fam. 4, 5: 4, 12), Gellius (2, 10, 1) speaks of a letter of his to Varro: "Ser. Sulpicius scripsit ad M. Varronem..."

Ovid (Trist. 2, 441) speaks of his poems: "Nec minus Hortensi, nec sunt minus improba **S**ervi carmina".

Pompon. (Dig. 1, 22, 44) reports the so-called school of Sulpicius. "ab hoc (Sulpicio) plurimi profecerunt fere tamen hi libros conscripserunt: Alfenus Varus Gaius, A. Ofilius, T. Caesius, Aufidius Tucca, Aufidius Namusa, Flavius Priscus, C. Ateius, Pacuvius, Labeo, ^{Antistius,} Cinna, Publicius Gellius. Ex his decem

libros octo conscripserunt quorum omnes qui fuerunt libri digesti sunt ab Aufidio Namusa in centum quadriginta libros".

Two of these men, A. Ofilius and P. Alfenus Varus, have individual writings attributed to them. Pompon. (Dig. 1, 2, 244) speaks of "libros de iure civili plurimos et qui omnem partem operis fundarent reliquit. Nam de legibus vicensimae primus conscribit: de iurisdictione idem edictum praetoris primus composuit" and (35, 9, 3, 8): "in sexto decimo actionum", (32, 55, 1) "Ofilius libro quinto iuris partiti ita scripsit", all by Ofilius. He also gives a reference (50, 16, 234, 2) to a work written to Atticus which Schanz thinks may be identical with his other works or may form an entirely separate work.

The Index Florentinus, under the name of Varus records digesta of 40 books. Gellius (7, 5, 1) says "Alfenus iureconsultus,in libro digestorum tricesimo et quarto, coniectaneorum autem secundo". This gives us at least 30 books by Ofilius and 42 by Varus, and if these form a part of the 140 books of the digesta written by the school of Sulpicius, then 68 were written by the others. Whether we ought to include these books as a part of the digesta is doubtful.

C. TREBATIUS TESTA

Pompon. (Dig. 1, 2, 2, 45) says: "Treatii complures (libri exstant) sed minus frequentantur". Porphyrio (ad Horat. Sat. 2, 1, 2) says: "hic est Trebatius iuris peritus qui locum obtinuit, et aliquot libros de civili iure composuit". These references are probably to the same work. Porphyrio says

further "...et de religionibus novem" Macrobius (Sat. 3, 3, 5) speaking of the same writing says: "libro decimo religionum". Schanz, therefore, thinks that instead of IX we should write XI in the reference by Porphyrio. Whether or not his view is right we may say there were at least ten books and possibly eleven.

A. CASCELLIUS

Pompon. (Dig. 1, 2, 2, 45): "Cascelli scripta non exstant nisi unus liber bene dictorum".

C. AELIUS GALLUS

Gellius (16, 5, 3) says of Gallus, "C. Aelius Gallus in libro de significatione verborum, quae ad ius civile pertinent, secundo". Festus (p. 273 O.M.) in speaking of the same work says "Gallus Aelius libro II significationum verborum....." There were, then, at least two books.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS

Libri Augurales: Cic. (Ad Fam. 3, 11, 4): "Auguralis libros ad commune utriusque nostrum otium serva".

At least three orations were delivered by him: (I) Ps-Ascon. (p. 109 Or.): "Appio Claudio adolescente nobili: qui, cum accusaret Terentium Varronem repetundarum ex Asia, victus ab Hortensio est". (2) Cic. (ad. Fam. 8, 6, 1): "non dubito quin

perlatum ad te sit Appium a Dolabella reum factum". (3, 11, 1) to Appius; "Respondebo superiori prius, in qua scribis ad me de absolute maiestatis". (3) Cic. (Ad. Fam. 3, 12, 1): "Ego vehementer gratulor de indicio ambitus". We do not know, however, that any of these were published.

M. VALERIUS MESSALLA RUFUS

Pliny (N. H. 35, 8) says: "Exstat Messalae oratoris indignatio quae prohibuit inseri genti suae Laevinorum alienam imaginem: Similis causa Messalae seni expressit volumina illa, quae de familiis condidit".

Gellius (13, 15, 3) "Liber M. Messalae auguris de auspiciis primus" There were probably 3 books of this work.

VERANIUS

Festus (p. 263) says: "paludati in libris auguralibus significat, ut ait Veranius, armati, ornati". We may say there were at least two books.

Macrobius (Sat. 3, 5, 6) says "Veranius....in pontificalibus quaestionibus docet..." Macrobius (3, 6, 14) also speaks of a book by Veranius De Supplicationibus. It is uncertain whether this is a separate work from his Pontificales Quaestiones, but from the similarity of subject matter we may well believe that it formed a part of it.

L. CAESAR

Macrobian. (Sat. 1, 16, 29) says: "Julius Caesar sexto decimo auspiciorum libro negat, nundinis contionem advocari posse...."

TARQUITIUS PRISCUS

Macrobian. (Sat. 3, 20, 3) says: "Tarquitiu Priscu in ostentario arborario sic ait", and (3, 7, 2): "Est super hoc liber Tarquiti transcriptu ex ostentario Tusco". Schanz thinks the two are so similar that Ostentario arborario is only a part of Ostentario Tusco.

Lactant. (Div. Inst. 1, 10, 2) says: "hunc Tarquitiu de illustribus viris disserens, ait..."

A. CAECINA

We have evidence for certain pamphlets by Caecina: (1) Against Caesar: Sueton. (Jul. 75): "A. Caecina crimosissimo libro...laceratam existimationem suam civili animo tulit". (2) Querelae: (Ad Fam. 6, 6, 8) to Caecina; "In Caesare haec sunt: mitis clemensque natura, qualis exprimitur praeclaro illo libro, "Querelarum tuarum". (3) De Etrusca Disciplina: Pliny (N.H. 1, 2) in his catalogue of authors says; "Caecina qui de Etrusca disciplina (scripsit)".

JULIUS AQUILA ET UMBRICIUS

Pliny (N. H. 1, 11), in his catalogue of writers whose works he has used as sources, names Julius Aquila "(Ex) Iulio Aquila qui de Etrusca disciplina scripsit", and Umbricius, "...Umbricio Meliore qui item".

VICELLIUS

Lydus (De Ostentis c. 54): "αὐτὸς Βικέλλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐκ τῶν Τάχηςτος στίχων ταῦτα ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς καθ' ἑρμηνείαν φησὶν."

We do not know how much he wrote.

PONTEIUS

Lydus (De Ostentis c. 39): "Βροντοσκοπία ἐκ τῶν Φοντηίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καθ' ἑρμηνείαν πρὸς λέξιν." From the use of τῶν he evidently wrote more than one book.

CAESIUS

Arnobius (3, 40) says, "Caesius et ipse disciplinas Etruscas sequens Fortunam arbitratur et Cererem Genium Iovialem ac Palem" No definite writing or amount of work is mentioned.

GRANIUS FLACCUS

Censorin. (De Die Nat. 3, 2): "Granius Flaccus in libro, quem ad Caesarem de indigitamentis scriptum reliquit".

Dig. (50, 16, 144) gives another work; "Granius Flaccus in libro de iure Papiriano scribit".

AUFUSTIUS

Terentius Scaurus (Gramm. Lat. 7, p. 35, 1): "est genus dilatandi verba, quae io litteris finiuntur de quo et Aufusti grammatici liber est ad Asinium Pollionem".

OCTAVIUS HERSENNIUS

Macrobian. (Sat. 3, 12, 7): "Octavii Hersennii liber qui inscribitur de sacris saliaribus Tiburtium....."

CN. TREMELLIUS SCROFA

Colum. (2, 1, 2) says; "qui cum plurima rusticarum rerum praecepta simul eleganter et scite memoriae prodiderit".

Nothing is said as to the length of the work.

MAMILIUS SURA

Pliny (N. H. 18, 143) mentions Mamilius Sura as a source and for that reason we know he had published some work although

we have no title or fragment of it.

C. MATIUS

Colum. (12, 46, 1): "Libros tres edidit, quos inscripsit nominibus coci et Cellarii et salgamarii".

STATIUS SEBOSUS

Pliny (N. H. 6, 201) refers to him as a source but without any clue as to title or bulk of work.

L. MANILIUS

Pliny (N. H. 10, 4): "Primus atque diligentissime togatorum de eo (Phoenice) prodidit Manilius".

Varro (De Ling. Lat. 7, 28) mentions an epigram by him, and (7, 16) an iambic trimeter poem concerning Latona and her children.

Festus (p. 334, M.) says; "Sexagenarios de ponte olim deiciebant, cuius causam Manilius hanc refert". This seems to have been a work dealing with Roman antiquities.

Gellius (3, 3, 1) names Manilius among those who had prepared indexes of Plautus' works.

None of the references to his various works say anything concerning their length.

L. TARUTIUS FIRMANUS

Pliny (N. H. 1, 18), in giving a catalogue of the writers whose works he has used says "...Ex L. Tarutio qui Graece de astris scripsit."

L. POMPONIUS

O. Ribbeck (Scen. Roman. Poes. Vol. II, p. 269) gives the following titles of works by Pomponius: Adelphi, Aediturnus, Agamemmo Suppositus, Aleones, Anulus posterior, Armorum Iudicium, Aruspex vel Pexor rusticus, Asinus, Auctoratus, Bucco auctoratus, Augur, Bucco adoptatus, Campani, Capella, Citharista, Collegium, Concha, Condiciones, Cretula vel Petitor, Decuma, Decuma Pullonis, Dives, Dotalis, Dotata, Ergastilus, Fullones, Galli Transalpini, Heres petitor, Hirnea Tarpi, Kalendae Martiae, Lar familiaris, Leno, Maccus, Macci gemini, Macci gemini priores, Maccus Miles, Maccus sequester, Maccus virgo, Mevia, Maialis, Marsya, Medicus, Munda, Nuptiae, Pannucesti, Pappus agricola, Pappus praeteritus, Parci, Patruus, Philosophia, Pictores, Piscatores, Pistor, Placenta, Porcetia, Praeco posterior, Praefectus morum, Prostibulum, Pytho gorgonius, Quinquatrus, Rusticus, Sarcularia, Stura, Sponsa Tarpi, Synephebi, Syri, Vacca vel Marsupium, Vernionas, Verres aegrotus, Verres salves.

Ribbeck questions the Macci gemini priores. The fragment of it reads "Qui bono animo esse? video erepsti prius de pennibus", and he thinks there has been a confusion of the words de pennibus and this resulted in the priores. If we accept his view which seems very probable, then the play is the same as the

Macci gemini and we have 69 titles. Of these plays approximately 169 lines are extant.

Pomponius seems also to have written Praetextae et Togatae. Ps.-Acro. (ad Horat. de arte poet. 288) reads: "praetextas et togatas scripserunt Aelius Lamia....Africanus, Pomponius". Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 200, 7; p. 282, 6) reads: "Pomponius in satura..." Nonius (p. 112 M.) cites: "Pomponius Verre Aegroto....idem Satura..." E. Baehrens (Frag. Poet. Rom. p.293), under the head of L. Pomponii Saturae, has collected the three fragments.

Pomponius seems also to have written Mythological parodies, from three fragments which appear in Ribbeck (Scaen. Roman. Poes. Frag. v. 1, p. 267).

NOVIUS

Titles of 44 plays by Novius appear in Ribbeck (Scaen. Roman. Poes. Frag. V. 2, pp. 307-331): Agricola, Andromacha, Asinus, Bacchus, Bubulus Cerdo, Daptici (?), Lecuma, Lotata, Duo Dossenni, Eculeus, Exodium, Ficitor, Fullones, Fullones Feriati, Fullonicum, Funus, Gallinaria, Gemini, Hercules Coactor, Hetaera, Lignaria, Maccus, Maccus Copo, Maccus Exul, Melivoli, Mania medica, Milites Pometinenses, Mortis et Vitae Indicium, Optio, Pacilius, Paedium, Pappus Praeteritus, Parcus, Phoenissae, Picus, Quaestio, Sanniones, Surdus, Tabellaria, Togularia, Tripertita, Vindemiatores, Virgo praegnans, Zona.

There is a question concerning the Daptici, but only regarding the spelling and not the existence of the work. Of these plays in all there are approximately 90 lines extant.

L. CORNELIUS SULLA

Athenaeus says concerning Sulla (6, p. 261 C.) that he wrote certain *σάτυρα καὶ κωμῳδία*. Their length is not known, but if Athenaeus knew of them they were evidently published.

APRISSIUS

Varro (De Lingua Lat. 6, 68) says of Aprissius, "ut quiritare urbanorum, sic iubilare rusticorum; itaque hos imitans Aprissius ait; Io bucco! ..." This is evidently from an Atellan farce by him.

D. LABERIUS

O. Ribbeck (Scaen. Roman. Poes. Frag. p. 339) gives the titles of 43 plays by Laberius: Alexandrea, Anna Peranna, Aquae Caldae, Aries, Augur, Aulularia, Belonistria, Cacomnemon, Caeculi, Cancer, Carcer, Catularius, Centonarius, Colax, Colorator, Compitalia, Cophinus, Cretensis, Ephebus, Fullo, Galli, Gemelli, Hetaera, Imago, Lacus Avernus, Late loquentes, Natal, Necyomantia, Nuptiae, Parilicii, Paupertas, Piscator, Restio, Salinator, Saturnalia, Scylax, Sedigitus, Sorores, Staminariae, Stricturae, Taurus, Tusca, Virgo. Of these plays 80 lines are extant.

PUBLILIUS SYRUS

Two pieces of his are known: (1) Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 532, 25) "Publilius in Murmidione": "Mss. vary the spelling of this, Murmurithone R; Muromonthones B; Mauromonthones b; Muro. Muinthone D. Ribbeck writes it Murmurcone. (2) Nonius (p. 133 M.): "Publilius Futatoribus".

W. Meyer in his Die Sammlungen der Spruchverse des Publiius Syrus says there were more than a thousand verses with the title Publili Syri Mini Sententiae. He names the following collections $\Sigma, \Pi, Z, O, \Phi, \varphi$ of which he says about 730 lines remain. I have been unable to obtain the edition of his work which contains these verses and have to take Meyer's word for it. We may well take the great number as an indication that Publilius must have written very extensive works.

VALERIUS

Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 200, 1) says "Valerius in Phormione: quid hic cum tragicis versis et syrma facis?" This is evidently the name of a play.

NUCULA

Cic. (Phil. 11, 6, 13) says "Primum duos collegas Antoniorum et Dolabellae, Nuculam et Lentonem.....quorum alter commentatus est mimos alter egit tragoediam." The number of

these mimes is not known.

TUTOR

Cic. (De Orat. 2, 64, 259): "Non insulsum genus ex eo, cum ad verbum, non ad sententiam rem accipere videare, ex quo uno genere totus est Tutor, mimus vetus oppido ridiculus". We have no evidence as to the number of plays he wrote.

FABA

Cic. says (ad Att. 1, 16, 13): "Videsne consulatum illum nostrum quem Curio antea Ἀποθέωσιν vocabat, si hic factus erit, Fabam mimum futurum?" We have no evidence in regard to the existence of any writing of his.

CONVIVIA POETARUM AC PHILOSOPHORUM

Hieronym. (Epist. 52, 8) says: "M. Tullius....in oratione pro Q. Gallio....unus poeta dominatur, homo perlitteratus cuius sunt illa convivia poetarum ac philosophorum cum facit Euripiden et Menandrum inter se et alio loco Socraten atque Epicurum disserentes..." There seem to have been two works by this unknown author.

CN. MATIUS

Matius translated the Iliad. Gellius (9, 14, 14): "Idem

Matius in XXIII", and a little earlier in the same chapter says, "Matius Iliadis XXI". While we have no evidence that he translated all 24 books, yet we have fragments (E. Baehrens, Frag. Poet. Rom. p. 281) from Bk. 23 and I am inclined to think that he did.

Gellius (15, 25, 1) speaks of him as a writer of Mimiambi, "Matius, vir eruditus, in mimiambis suis".

NINNIUS CRASSUS

Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 488, 12) says: "Ninnius Crassus in XXIV Iliados," and E. Baehrens (Frag. Poet. Rom.) gives a fragment from Bk. 24 of his translation.

LAEVIUS

(1) Erotopaegnia: Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 204, 16):

"Laevius Ἐρωτοπαγνίων VI ..."

(2) Adonis: Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 269, 6): "Laevius in Adone..."

(3) Alcestis: Gellius (19, 7, 2) "Legi Laevi Alcestin".

(4) Centauri: Festus (p. 206 M) "Laevius in Centauris..."

(5) Helena: Macrob. (Sat. 6, 5, 10) "Laevius in Helena..."

(6) Ino: Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 281, 3) "Laevius in Inoe..."

(7) Protesilaodamia: Gellius (12, 10, 5) "Laevius ut opinor, in Protesilaodamia claustritumum dixit..."

(8) Sirenocirca: Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 302, 1) "Laevius



in Sirenocirca".

(9) Phoenix: Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 288, 5): "quales sunt in pterygio Phoenicis Laevii novissimae odes Erotopaegnion".

From the above quotation of Charisius it is probable that all the other works are only subtitles for parts of the Erotopaegnion instead of additional writings.

Mss. give variant readings for Laevius, in the quotations cited some reading Levius or Livius.

Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 258, 12) says: "Laevius in polymetris: omnes sunt denis syllabis versi", but we have no reason for thinking this does not refer to the poems already mentioned.

SUEIUS

Macrob. (Sat. 3, 18, 11) says of his Moretum: "huius rei idoneus adsertor est Sueius vir longe doctissimus in idyllio quod inscribitur Moretum".

Nonius (p. 139 M.) speaks of his Pulli; "Sueius Pullis".

Macrob. (Sat. 6, 5, 15) says of him as an Epic poet, "decenter et his Epithetis Vergilius usus est:.....nam Sueius in libro quinto ait: volucrumque volatile telum".

T.LUCRETIUS CARUS

The six books of T. Lucretius Carus, De Rerum Natura are extant.

VALERIUS CATO

Sueton. (De Gramm. 11) "Scripsit praeter grammaticos libellos etiam poemata ex quibus praecipue probantur Lydia et Diana. Lydiae Ticide meminit: Lydia doctorum maxima cura liber: Dianae Cinna: Saecula permaneat nostri Dictynna Catonis ...Ipse in libello cuius est titulus Indignatio in genium se natum ait". We may take for granted there were at least two of the Grammatici libelli. No fragments of them remain, or of Diana and Indignatio. The latter Schanz considers as a prose work because the Indignatio of Messalla, which we know was a prose work, was modelled after it. Two poems named Dirae and Lydia are extant. The Dirae is often given as a poem of Vergil but we can easily see from the style and the circumstances of the poem that he can not be the author but that it probably belongs to Valerius Cato. Events in the author's life similar to those mentioned in the Lydia which correspond to the biography of Cato, loss of his estate, a lady-love by the name of Lydia, certain idioms, and style of composition in both afford grounds for this belief.

C. LICINIUS CALVUS

Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 170, 10) says: "Calvus in Epithalamio": (2) Schol. Dan. (Ad Verg. Buc. 6, 47); "Calvus in Io": (3) Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 77, 3): "Calvus ad amicos...." (4) Sueton. (Jul. 73): "C. Calvo post famosa epigrammata de reconciliatione per amicos agenti ultro ac

prior scripsit". Baehrens, (Rom. Poet. Frag. p. 320) gives fragments of his Ludicra, Epithalamia, Io, and Epigrammata.

Martial (14, 196) speaks of a prose writing of his: "Calvi de aquae frigidae usu".

Diomedes records a letter of his to his wife, (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 376, 1): "Calvus alibi ad uxorem prima epistula videtur in via delita". In the preceding sentence the statement is made: "Cicero ad filium 'ceris deletis', and H. Keil thinks there has been a confusion of the Ms and that the sentence should read: "Cicero ad filium 'ceris deletis', item ad Calvum 'delitae litterae' alibi ad uxorem 'prima epistula videtur in via delita'. He does not give any reason for his belief that is strong enough to cause us to doubt the existence of the letter by Calvus.

M. FURIUS BIBACULUS

Tacit. (Ann. 4, 34) says: "Carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis caesarum leguntur". Diomedes (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 485, 11) says: "Iambus est carmen maledicum....cuius carminis praecipui scriptores....apud Romanos....et Bibaculus". We know nothing of the length or number of his poems.

C. VALERIUS CATULLUS

Catullus' collection of poems entitled "Catulli Veronensis liber", which contains 116 poems, is extant.

Serv. (ad Verg. Georg. 2, 95) commenting upon "purpureae

preciaeque et quo te carmine dicam Rhaetico", says: "contra Catullus eam (uam) vituperat et dicit nulli rei esse aptam...."

I am inclined to think with E. Baehrens (Commentar. p. 613) that he must have written a ^{very} long poem.

C. HELVIUS CINNA

(1) Smyrna: Serv. (ad Verg. Buc. 9, 35): "Cinna polta optimus fuit, qui scripsit Smyrnam, quem libellum decem annis elimavit".

(2) Propempticon: Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 124, 5): "Cinna in Propemptico Polionis".

(3) Epigrammata and Poemata. Gellius (19, 13, 5): "In poematis Helvi Cinnae...." Nonius (p. 87 M.) "Cinna in Epigrammatis".

Nothing is known concerning the amount of this work.

TICIDAS

(1) Apul. (Apol. 10) speaks of Ticidas as a writer of love poems.

(2) Epigrams: Sueton. (De Gramm. 11) says: "Lydiae Ticida meminit: Lydia doctorum maxima cura liber".

(3) Hymenaeus: Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 189, 2): "Ticidas in Hymenaeo..."

Q. CORNIFICIUS

Macrobian. (Sat. 6, 5, 13) says: "Cornificius in Glaucio: centauros foedare bimembres". There seems to have been only a

fragment from this Glaucus known. The poem was perhaps an epyllion.

Macrob. (Sat. 1, 9, 11) says: "Cornificius etymorum libro tertio".

CAECILIUS

Catull. (35, 13) says; "nam quo tempore legit incohata[m] Dindymi dominum ex eo misellae ignes interioram edunt medullamet venuste magna Caecilio incohata mater". Although he speaks of the poem as begun we have no evidence that it was finished and published, so I do not count it.

C. MEMMIUS

We know from Ovid (Trist. 2, 433) of a carmen written by Memmius: "quid referam Ticiidae, quid Memmi carmen", and Nonius (p. 194 M.) gives a verse of his and Caper (Gramm. Lat. 7, p. 101, 17) quotes a word from him.

Cic. (Brut. 70, 247) refers to him as an "argutus orator verbisque dulcis", but says nothing as to whether any work was published or not.

Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA

Cic. (De Leg. 1, 1, 1) Quintus Cicero says: "ut ait Scaevola de fratris mei Mario: canescet saeculis innumerabilibus", and Pliny (Epist. 5, 3, 5) mentions him among the writers of

low poetry, but we have no definite records of his writings.

L. JULIUS CALIDUS

Nepos (Att. 12, 4) says: "L. Iulium Calidum quem post Lucretii Catullique mortem multo elegantissimum poetam nostram tulisse aetatem vere videor posse contendere". We do not know what he wrote.

P. TERENCEIUS VARRO (OF ATAX)

Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 497, 10) says: "Varro belli sequanici libro II."

Horat. (Sat. 1, 10, 46) mentions him as a writer of satires; "hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino atque quibusdam aliis melius quod scribere possem, inventore minor."

Probus (In Verg. Georg. 2, 126, p. 369, 4) says: "Varro, qui quattuor libros de Argonautis edidit".

Priscian (Gramm. Lat. 2, p. 100, 15) says: "Varro in Chorographia". Other authors write ortographia, hortografia, orthografia, orthographia, or cosmographia. We know that it is Chorographia, however from Charis. (Gramm. Lat. 1, p. 61, 9) from the context.

Schol. Dan. (Ad Verg. Georg. 1, 375) quotes 7 hexameter verses concerning weather signs with the words: "hic locus omnis de Varrone est", and on 1, 397: "Varro in Ephemeride nubes vellera lanae stabant". These I am inclined to believe refer to M. Terentius Varro who wrote Ephemeris Navalis.

Propert. (3, 34, 85) says of his elegiac writings: "Haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro".

SALLUSTIUS

Cic. (Ad Q. Fr. 2, 9, 3) says: "Virum te putabo, si Sallustii Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putaba". From this we might get the impression that the Empedoclea was a bulky didactic work.

EGNATIUS

Macrobian. (Sat. 6, 5, 2) says: "Egnatium de rerum natura libro primo." I assume from the use of the word primo there were at least three books.

SEVIUS NICANOR

Sueton. (De Gramm. 5): "fecit....saturam quoque, in qua libertinum se ac duplici cognomine esse per haec indicat".

LENAEUS

Sueton. (De Gramm. 15) speaks of Lenaeus as a satirical writer but gives nothing definite that he has written.

L. ABUCCIUS

Varro (R. R. 3, 2, 17) says: "L. Abuccius, homo, ut scitis, adprime doctus, cuius Luciliano caractere sunt libelli".

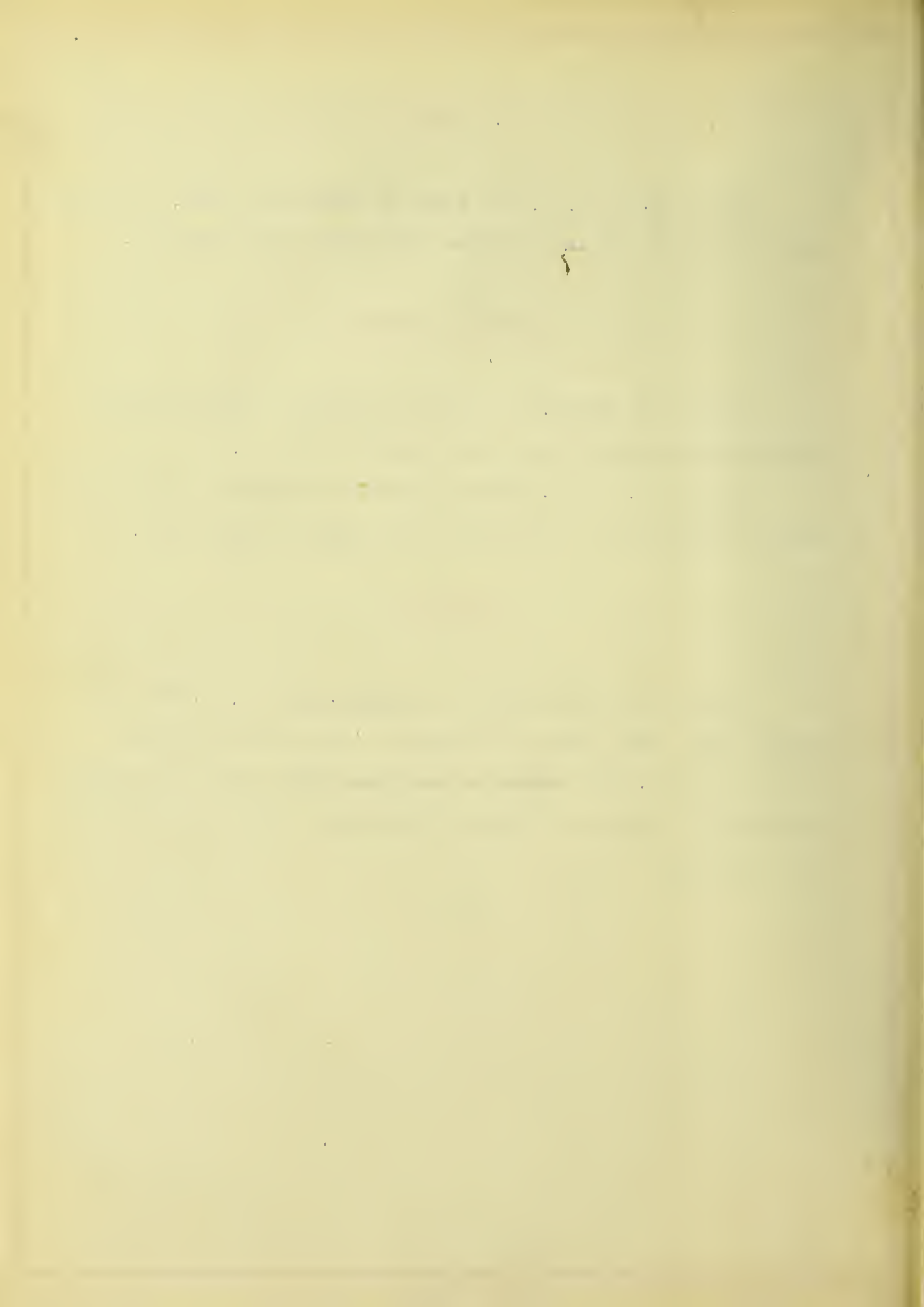
QUINTOPOR CLODIUS

Nonius (p. 448 M.) "M. Varro Bimarco: cum Quintipor Clodius tot comoedias sine ulla fecerit musa...."

Nonius (p. 117 M.) "Varro Epistula ad Fufium: Quintiporis Clodi Antipho eris: ac poemata eius gargaridians dices....."

VOLUMNIUS

Auctor de dubiis nominibus (Gramm. Lat. 5, p. 574, 1) reads: "Cyma: alii cymem ut Volumnius 'stridentis dabitur patella cymae'." The verse is hemdirasyllabic and so suggests poems of the nature of those of Catullus. Of their amount we know nothing.



STATISTICAL TABLES

Figures in black indicate original number: those in red amount extant. Numbers with * denote lines: others denote whole books; + sign has been used when references read libri plurimi, aliquot, tot, etc. When no number at all is given, there has been no direct evidence that any books were written

STATISTICAL TABLES

Figures in black indicate original number: those in red amount extant. Numbers with * denote lines: others denote whole books; + sign has been used when references read libri plurimi, aliquot, tot, etc. When no number at all is given, there has been no direct evidence that any books were written or there are no fragments of works preserved. Under the class Books of Prose, I have included all prose writings which do not belong under Orations or Letters; and under Books of Poetry all poetry not included under Dramas, Epigrams and Carmina.

Author	Work	Books of Prose	Orations	Letters	Books of Poetry	Dramas	Epigrams	Carmine	Books of Prose	Orations	Letters	Books of Poetry	Dramas	Epigrams	Carmine	Books of Prose	Orations	Letters	Books of Poetry	Dramas	Epigrams	Journals
Q. Claudius Quadrigarius	Annales	23							1,324													
	Valerian Antias	75							55*													
	C. Licinus Macer	21							9*													
	Q. Aelius Tubero	14							11*													
	Scribonius Libo	/																				
	Procilius Blitho	/																				
	Sulpicius Sisenna	12							147*													
	Cornelius Sisenna	13							9*													
	L. Luceius	Historia	/																			
		Prooemium	/																			
Tanusius Gemina	Epistula	/																				
	Annales	2+						2+														
	Satires																					
	Rerum Suarum Libri																					
	Historia	21							8*													
	Annalis	/																				
	Monographs	/																				
	Imagines	4																				
	Poems	2						5														
C. Julius Caesar	Tragedy																					
	De Analogia																					
	Anticatones	2							2*													
	Astronomical Works	2																				
	Epistulae	2																				
	Commentarii	10							9													
	Orationes																					
	Supplement	4						4														
	L. Cornelius Balbus	De Morte Caesaris																				
Epistulae																						
De Viris Claris		4																				
In Caesarem		1																				
Chronica, Exempla,																						
Monographs		11							25*													
De Illustribus Viris		16							1													
Historiae		5							100*													
C. Sallustius Crispus		De Coniuratione																				
	Catiliae	1							1													
	Invectivae	2							2													
	Suasoriae	2							2													
	Bellum Jugurthinum	1							1													
	Oratio																					
	Carmina																					
	Annales	2						2														
	Rhetorical Writings	1																				
	Hortensia	Oratio																				
Orationes																						
Epistulae																						
Monographs		1																				
Orationes																						
Oratio																						
Oratio																						
Epistulae																						
Oratio																						
M. Antonius		Oratio																				
	Orationes																					
	Epistulae																					
	Monographs																					
	Orationes																					
	Oratio																					
	Oratio																					
	Epistulae																					
	Oratio																					
	The Lentuli	Oratio																				
Orationes																						
Epistulae																						
Monographs																						
Orationes																						
Oratio																						
Oratio																						
Epistulae																						
Oratio																						
M. Favonius		Oratio																				
	Orationes																					
	Epistulae																					
	Monographs																					
	Orationes																					
	Oratio																					
	Oratio																					
	Epistulae																					
	Oratio																					
	M. Calpurnius	Oratio																				
Orationes																						
Epistulae																						
Monographs																						
Orationes																						
Oratio																						
Oratio																						
Epistulae																						
Oratio																						
M. Junius Brutus		Oratio																				
	Orationes																					
	Epistulae																					
	Monographs																					
	Orationes																					
	Oratio																					
	Oratio																					
	Epistulae																					
	Oratio																					
	L. Calpurnius Balbus	Oratio																				
Orationes																						
Epistulae																						
Monographs																						
Orationes																						
Oratio																						
Oratio																						
Epistulae																						
Oratio																						
Empylus		Oratio																				
	Orationes																					
	Epistulae																					
	Monographs																					
	Orationes																					
	Oratio																					
	Oratio																					
	Epistulae																					
	Oratio																					

Author

Work

Books of Prose

Oration

Letters

Books of Poetry

Drama

Epigrams

Carmina

Books of Prose

Oration

Letters

Books of Poetry

Drama

Epigrams

Carmina

Author	Work	Books of Prose	Orations	Letters	Books of Poetry	Dramas	Epigrams	Carmina	Books of Prose	Orations	Letters	Books of Poetry	Dramas	Epigrams	Carmina
P. Volumnius	Oratio	2							21*						
Q. Cornificius			1												
C. Scribonius	Oratio		1							1					
C. Scribonius (the younger)	Epistulae			17											
M. Caecilius Rufus	Orationes		11												
M. Licinius Crassus	Orationes														
M. Valerius Messala	Epistulae			1640							790				
M. Tullius Cicero	Philosophical	53	82						29½	58½					
	Historical	2							10*						
	Geographical	2			6										
	Aratea				1							534			
	Poems							9							
	Epistulae			65			1				65				
	Poems				1+										44
	Epistulae			2											
	Prose Writings	8							11*						
	Concerning Cicero's														
	Expedition to	1													
	Britain.														
	Epigram						1								10*
	Epistulae			3							3				
	Dramas					6									
	Commentariolum														
	Petitionis	1						1	1						
	De Signis														
	Grammatical Works	39							88*						20*
	Theological	23							1*						
	Scientific	12							3*						
	Poems								0½						
	Prose Works	524							1½						
	De Gestu	1													
	Commentarii	2													
	Poem							1							2*
	Musarum Libri Novem	9							4*						
	Pinax	1													
	De Latino Sermone	2													
	Annales	2													
		1													
	Epistulae			2						2*					
	Prose Writings	807								2*					
	Prose	2								2*					
	De Lucilio	24													
	Grammatical Works	3						2							
	Saturae														
	Commentarii	2													
	Prose	4							5*						41*
	Tragedies														
	Actiones	1				4									
	Commentarii	2							4*						
	Commentarii	10							2*						
	Tragedies					2									
	Commentarium	1													
	Auctor ad Herennium	4													
								2+							
	Carmina														
	Epistula			1											
	Orationes		2												
	Other Writings	7													
		140													
	Works on Law														
	Digesta														
	Concerning Laws	12+													
	Liber bene dictum	1													
	De Significatione														
	Verborum	2+							54*						
	Orationes														
	Augurales Libri	2+													
	Religious Works	4							2*						
	Concerning reli-														
	gious duties	3+							3+						

1. I have grouped under the title Correspondents of Cicero, the letters which are included in Cicero's ad Familiares, but which Schanz has not taken up in his Geschichte der römischen Litteratur.

Author

Work

Books of Prose

Oration

Letters

Books of Poetry

Dramas

Epigrams

Carmina

Books of Prose

Oration

Letters

Books of Poetry

Dramas

Epigrams

Carmina

CONCLUSION

From the comparison of the totals of the tables with the average lengths for the various units (books, drama, etc.) already noted, I find that .033 of the books of prose remain, .489 of the orations, .510 of the letters, .465 of the epigrams, .005 of the dramas, and .092 of the books of poetry. Since we have no standard for the length of the carmen, it is impossible to determine the percentage remaining. All that can be said is that there were originally about 54 carmina and of these 312 verses are extant.

It is interesting to note the comparative proportions of the various classes of writings and probable reasons for the differences. As has been stated, M. Cicero was the central figure of the period and almost all the letters preserved to us were written by him and his correspondents. A great number of orations which were delivered bear no evidence of publication, and those which were, belonged for the most part to Cicero. Hence the high percentage extant of these two classes. The dramas, possibly often because of their inferior quality, and also, perhaps, because they belong to a form of composition primarily oral, have not been preserved.

The carmina and epigrams were written for temporary purposes, and the latter, like the letters, are seldom known to us unless they were so important that they have, for some reason or other, been preserved. The prose, with the exception of the histories, and philosophical writings of Cicero, was not of

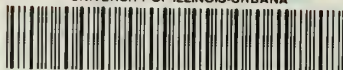
unusual value and therefore not preserved. The purely technical and scholarly works, used by few readers and hence probably published in few copies, would naturally tend to disappear even more than non-technical ones appealing to a wider circle.

When we recall that the percentages I have given are merely those for the extant portions of a very conservatively estimated total known to have existed, and when we reflect upon the casual way in which many even of the most important and bulky works are attested, we shall be more than ever struck with the enormous mass which must have been published in comparison with the scanty salvage we have left to us.





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